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KNOLE: AN ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIAL
HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY'S HOUSE, 1456-1538

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VOLUME 1

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Department of Art History

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

October 2010

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to any other University for the award of any other degree

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The degree of DPhil, October 2010

**Knole: An Architectural and Social History of the Archbishop of
Canterbury's House, 1456-1538****ABSTRACT**

This thesis analyses new evidence for both the architectural and social histories of the late-medieval Archbishops of Canterbury's house at Knole in Sevenoaks, Kent. Built and occupied by a succession of archbishops between 1456 and 1538, Knole is today regarded as one of the most significant medieval houses in Great Britain.

Using newly discovered summary building accounts the thesis suggests a new interpretation of the building phases of the house. This has reattributed most of the major phases to Archbishop Bouchier (c.1411 – 1486) and suggests that by the time of his death much of the extant fabric had been completed. Significantly it also suggests, for the first time, that Bouchier may have been responsible for building the ranges surrounding Green Court – a part of the house that has previously been attributed to later owners of Knole.

The thesis also suggests that of Bouchier's successors at Knole only Archbishop Warham (c.1450 – 1532) made any significant alterations to the building and attributes to him the timber-framed ranges around Pheasant Court and the east front, including the Brown Gallery.

In addition to its architecture, the thesis also considers how a house like Knole was used by the archbishops and discusses the evidence for its differing functions. It compares Knole to other late-medieval houses and palaces, most significantly to the nearby house at Otford – another property built by the Archbishops of Canterbury. The thesis concludes that, alongside some ritual and business functions, Knole's primary role was as a country retreat away from the demands of Court and politics.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>Cal. Pat.</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> , 51 vols. (London: 1892-1916)
<i>CKS</i>	Centre for Kentish Studies
<i>HKW</i>	Colvin, H. (ed.), <i>The History of the King's Works</i> , 6 vols. (London: 1963-1982)
<i>L&P</i>	<i>Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Foreign and Domestic</i> , 21 vols. (London: 1864-1920)
<i>LPL</i>	Lambeth Palace Library
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives

INTRODUCTION

1) Background

In 1537 Henry VIII, increasingly eager to assert his power over the church, of which he was now the supreme head, summoned the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer. Henry had spent much of the 1530s acquiring property, exerting his royal prerogative to expand his estates to such a degree that, by his death in 1547, he would own more than sixty houses.¹ On this occasion, however, it was Cranmer's Kentish properties that inspired the king's greed, in particular, according to an eyewitness account of the meeting, the neighbouring houses of Knole and Otford (Figs.13–27).² Henry, of course, got his own way and the archbishop ceded the two great houses to the king. However, the record of the discussion between the two men, made for posterity by the archbishop's secretary, Ralph Morice, reveals the reluctance with which Cranmer agreed to the transfer.³

Cranmer had every reason to be reluctant. By 1537 Knole and Otford were two of the finest houses in the country, if not the whole of Europe. Since the purchase of the manor eighty-one years earlier by Archbishop Bouchier, Knole had been turned into a comfortable country retreat by a succession of archiepiscopal owners. At Otford, for much of its long history a relatively minor seat, Archbishop Warham had created a pleasure palace to rival to the king's own house at Hampton Court. Such was its new grandeur that it was able to be compared favourably with the great continental palaces in 1536 Thomas Tebold, in a letter to the earl of Wiltshire, was able to say of the margravate palace, Schloss Neuenbürg near Pforzheim, "The buildings are about as large as my lord of Canterbury's place at Otford, but not so goodly".⁴

¹ S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547*, (London: 1993), p. 1

² J. Gough Nichols (ed.), *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, chiefly from the Manuscripts of John Foxe; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer*, Camden Society, Old Series 77 (London: 1859), p. 266

³ Ibid.

⁴ *L&P*, X, p. 187

That these two houses elicited in Henry the covetousness for which he has become famous can, therefore, be of little surprise. Indeed, as Lambarde wrote of the transfer of Otford only four decades later, “Warham (not contented to continue it a plaine house, fit to withdrawe himselfe unto for contemplation and praier) had so magnificently enlarged the same, that it was now become meete, to make a Palaice for a Kings habitation and pleasure”.⁵ Although first and foremost archiepiscopal houses Knole and Otford were fit for a king as well.

This thesis will chart the development of the two palaces during a period defined at one end by the purchase of Knole by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1456 and at the other by the transfer of the estates into royal hands in 1538. Where necessary it will also investigate events of relevance that took place outside of this core period to set the history in context. In doing so it will reconstruct the buildings of which Henry VIII became so evidently desirous, questioning what Henry and his predecessors might have seen on a royal progress to the house and investigating the processes and phases by which the archbishops brought their houses to the state of completeness that aroused the monarch’s interest. Whilst the focus of this study will be on Knole, some discussion of Otford is also necessary because the two houses share common documentation, common ownership, related functions and are less than four miles apart. The date brackets are chosen to reflect the relatively short period of archiepiscopal residency at Knole and they help us to focus on the relationship between these two important houses.

Despite their great significance the building histories of Knole and Otford have been the subject of very few studies. Their scale, complexity and, in the case of Otford perhaps, ruinous condition, coupled with an apparently scant archive have deterred serious attempts at establishing the chronology of their respective building campaigns or the motives, activities or aspirations of their builders. The following chapters attempt to redress this balance. Using the surviving archive, the extant fabric of the buildings and some comparison with other houses they will ask, when, how, and by whom the two properties were built. The question of ‘why’ will be covered in later chapters.

⁵ W. Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent: Containing the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of that Shire, Written in the yeere 1570*, printed by W. Burrill (Chatham: 1826), p. 464

2) The Architectural Historiography

The historiography of the houses' architectural history arguably began with William Lambarde. Writing in the 1570s, Lambarde, in his *Perambulation of Kent* noted for the first time the essential points of their building histories. Of Knole, a house that appears to have singularly failed to pique his curiosity, he wrote simply that:

“[Warham], Morton his immediate predecessour, and Bouchier before him had ... liberally builded at Knolle. ... For that house also ... had Bishop Bouchier in the beginning of his time purchased of William Fynys the Lorde Saye, of the Seale, and appropriated it to the See of the Archbishopricke”.⁶

Lambarde devoted significantly more words to Otford, thanks to its connection to several local legends, but he remained frustratingly vague on the subject of building. Warham, he contended, spent “thirty and three thousand poundes” on rebuilding the palace and, to illustrate the scale of the archbishop's endeavour, he quoted Erasmus's statement that Warham had left nothing of the old house save for the Great Hall and the Chapel.⁷ He had very little else to say, however, about the building's history. Such brief explanations add little practical information to an architectural history of the two houses. However, the *Perambulation of Kent* was the earliest county history and it set in place the accepted account of Knole and Otford establishing a basic chronology that was repeated by Lambarde's successors. In Richard Kilburne's 1659, *A Topographie or Survey of the County of Kent*, for example, he wrote of Knole:

“*Thomas Bouchier* (Archbishop of Canterbury) about 200. years since, bought *Knoll*, in this Parish of the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, and there built a faire House, which *John Morton* (his next successor in that Sea, much

⁶ Lambarde, p. 462-463

⁷ Lambarde, p. 464 Erasmus Ep. 1400 see R.A.B. Mynors D.F.S. Thomson (eds.), *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Vol. 10 (Toronto: 1975), p. 122

inlarged as also did *William Warham* (another successor in that Sea) about twenty years afterwards”.⁸

The first account of Knole’s history based on archival research appeared in the third volume of Edward Hasted’s *History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent* (1797). His text reveals an apparently firsthand knowledge of some of the primary documentation including the 1456 deeds of sale which were then amongst the Sackville family papers.⁹ His account of the house was detailed and a worthy addition to the literature but his attribution of building works at Knole followed the same pattern as previous authors, giving most of the work to Bouchier and Morton and crediting Warham with the work at Otford.

By the mid-eighteenth century the Sackville family, who have lived at Knole since 1604, had started to open their home to curious country house visitors and in 1817 the first guidebook was published by John Bridgman. Bridgman was in service at Knole and his book not only provided an illustrated description of the house and its contents but was also able to draw on the family papers still kept there. Undoubtedly well-researched and full of valuable information from the Sackville archive it was, nonetheless, also content to fall back on unproven oral history and the assumptions of antiquarians. Commendably Bridgman did consider the development of the house architecturally. However, his conclusions were vague and whilst they undoubtedly moved the discussion forward he could still only remark that:

“After much inquiry, pains, and attention, I am led to conclude that the old house, previous to Archbishop Bouchier’s time, occupied only the site of the north-east end, with its offices. The whole was rebuilt (except the front) by Archbishop Bouchier, and may be dated from 1456, including the time of its erection. Archbishop Moreton is said to have

⁸ R. Kilburne, *A Topographie or Survey of the County of Kent With some Chronological, Historicall, and other matters touching the same: And the several Parishes and Places therein*, (London: 1659), p. 244

⁹ E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, Vol. III (Canterbury: 1797), p. 65 For the deeds of sale see Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies (hereafter CKS) U1450 T4 17

added a supplement to the building, which I conclude to be the present front, with the Porter's Lodge in the centre".¹⁰

In essence, therefore, Bridgman follows the conclusions of his predecessors by attributing the majority of the works to Bouchier and Morton. However, his comment that the earliest phase of building was in the north-east part of the house is of note since he is the first author to make this observation and it has subsequently been proved correct by this thesis (see pp. 29-39).

Until the end of the nineteenth century these antiquarian accounts represented the only comments on the houses' histories. Otford, which was abandoned in the seventeenth-century because of its vast maintenance costs, was by that time in ruins and subsequent work on its history has been undertaken by archaeologists and local historians with varying degrees of success.¹¹ Knole, however, has been subject to more concerted and noteworthy studies. The impetus in the early-twentieth century came largely from the Sackville family. Knole's architectural history is discussed variously in both Vita Sackville-West's *Knole and the Sackvilles* (1922) and Charles Phillips' *History of the Sackville Family* (1930). Vita herself claimed to have no scholarly intentions for her book and openly wrote on the basis of her personal observations from her upbringing at the house.¹² Phillips, on the other hand, was a more thorough historian. His work displays the fruits of excellent archival research and his short chapters on Knole's building history are based on transcriptions of some of the documents that also underpin this thesis even if his analysis is at times flawed. Fundamentally, however, both of these works were primarily focused on the house as it related to the Sackville family and were not, on the whole, analytical of the architectural accomplishments of its earlier owners.

¹⁰ J. Bridgman, *An Historical and Topographical Sketch of Knole in Kent; with a Brief Genealogy of the Sackville Family*, (London: 1817), pp. 149-150

¹¹ For example see C. Hesketh, 'The Manor House and Great Park of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Otford', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXXI (1915) pp. 1-24 D. Clarke A. Stoyel, *Otford in Kent: A History*, (Otford: 1975) B. Philp et al., *Excavations in the Darent Valley, Kent*, (Dover: 1984)

¹² V. Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, (London: 1922), p. v

In 1950 F.R.H. Du Boulay published a short article under the title ‘A Note on the Rebuilding of Knole’.¹³ It highlighted the survival of some of the house’s building accounts and presented a useful transcription of a few of those dating from Archbishop Bouchier’s building campaigns. The article was not, however, a concerted architectural study and was, it seems, a by-product of Du Boulay’s work on Archbishop Bouchier and the wider archiepiscopal estates.¹⁴ It represents, nevertheless, one of the first pieces concentrating specifically on the house from the point of view of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Du Boulay’s article was followed in 1970 by Peter Faulkner’s ‘Some Medieval Archiepiscopal Palaces’.¹⁵ He presented Knole as one of a group of late-medieval houses built by archbishops. Although Knole’s entry only filled a few pages of the article, at the time it represented the best synthesis of its medieval history. Faulkner’s analysis was based on observation of the built fabric and not on primary archival research. Therefore, whilst it gave a valuable reappraisal of the development phases and highlighted building features not discussed in the previous literature, his reliance on visual surveying at the expense of documentary research resulted in his broad dating conclusions seeming unfounded. His ideas, however, like those of Lambarde before him, have become accepted and have been frequently repeated, most recently in Anthony Emery’s work on the medieval great house.¹⁶

Knole was acquired by the National Trust in 1946, but until the beginning of the twenty-first century the organisation did not undertake serious archival or structural research on the property (aside from occasional archaeological watching briefs). However, a renewed curatorial approach and a focus on research by the National Trust have led to the commissioning of several valuable studies of which this thesis forms a part. The house has also been surveyed archaeologically by Julian Munby and his team from Oxford Archaeology (2007) and by the archaeologist Philip Dixon (2008).¹⁷ The former had full access to the whole house and their report describes in detail and

¹³ F.R.H. Du Boulay, ‘A Note on the Rebuilding of Knole by Archbishop Bourghier’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LXIII (1950), pp. 135-139

¹⁴ This research was later published as F.R.H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury: An Essay on Medieval Society*, (London: 1966)

¹⁵ P.A. Faulkner, ‘Some Medieval Archiepiscopal Palaces’, *The Archaeological Journal*, 127 (1971), pp. 130-146

¹⁶ A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500*, Vol. III, (Cambridge: 2006), pp. 364-368

¹⁷ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: An Archaeological Survey*, (Unpublished report: June 2007) P. Dixon, *Knole: A Report on the Works of 2007-8*, (Unpublished report: 2008)

interprets the physical evidence for the building's development. The latter was the result of a watching brief carried out during opening up and building work in the south range in 2007-8. The scope of works allowed unprecedented access to usually hidden structural elements and allowed a more in-depth analysis of the ranges. These two expansive reports provide the foundation on which this thesis is based. They have significantly reinterpreted and moved forward Knole's history. However, despite their undoubted importance, they cannot be considered as definitive. Neither employs serious archival research to complement their analyses since it was not within their remit to do so. It is this element that this thesis will add to the study of Knole. Whilst it draws on the work of both Oxford Archaeology and Philip Dixon it looks to either reinterpret or confirm their findings on the basis of the primary documentation. It also continues the archaeological survey presenting new discoveries and forwarding alternative interpretations of the extant built fabric.

3) Architectural Phasing

Oxford Archaeology's report established a system of archaeological phases by which to describe the development of the house.¹⁸ It is a useful foundation but on the basis of more recent research can be seen to over simplify the picture. For that reason this thesis proposes a new system of phases. It is based loosely on the original model set out by Oxford Archaeology but attempts to break each broad phase into smaller and more distinct periods of work. This new phasing structure will form the basis for the following chapters and can be summarised as follows:

Phase 1 A – Knole before 1445

Phase 1 B – Sir James Fiennes, 1445-1456

Phase 2 A.1 – Archbishop Bouchier: Early Building Works and the Consolidation and Completion of Phase 1 B, 1456-1459

Phase 2 A.2 – Archbishop Bouchier: Extending and Rebuilding Knole, 1460-1468

¹⁸ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, pp. 53-58

Phase 2 A.3 – Archbishop Bouchier: Green Court and Stable Court, 1472-1474

Phase 2 B.1 – Archbishops Morton and Deane: Upkeep and Repair, 1486-1503

Phase 2 B.2 – Archbishop Warham: Extending the House, 1504-1532

Phase 2 B.3 – Archbishop Cranmer: Upkeep and Repair, 1533-1538

This new system of phasing, which will be considered in depth in Part One of this thesis, is important not only because it elucidates, as far as possible, the evolving form of the house, but because a careful examination of every patron's contribution, particularly each successive archbishop, lays the ground for Part Two which seeks to present the life and functions of the late-medieval building.

PART ONE: BUILDING KNOLE

Phase 1 A – Knole Before 1445

1) Knole's Early History

In 1871 the Rev. W.J. Loftie presented a paper to assembled members of the Kent Archaeological Society in the Great Hall at Knole.¹⁹ The subject of his lecture was the history of the house, and his approach to the topic is noteworthy for he was the first to consider the development of the building by an analysis of its extant fabric. His conclusions, however, were fairly consistent with earlier, but less architecturally minded authors including Hasted and Bridgman, who suggested that Archbishop Bouchier rebuilt the house after his purchase of the estates in 1456.²⁰ Indeed, Loftie told his audience, “So far as we can now discover, the earliest part of the existing house was erected by Archbishop Bouchier, who must have pulled down or disguised any remains he found of the residence of the preceding owners”.²¹ Such statements, however, do not preclude a further investigation of the possible scope of the house before the intervention of Bouchier's builders. Whilst Loftie's analysis of the fabric is certainly measured and not without merit, his ideas are worthy of testing in the light of more recent archaeological and archival research.

It has taken more than 100 years for a challenge to be launched against Loftie's theory that the archbishop had had an earlier house demolished. Peter Faulkner, in an article of 1970, was content to continue the theory. Like Loftie he wrote, “Whether Bouchier found any earlier buildings on the site or not, nothing of it now remains above ground, nor did its prior existence appear to affect the planning of the new buildings”.²² Faulkner's article was, however, crucial in opening the possibility for debate. In the east range of the house he identified for the first time a feature that he described as the base

¹⁹ W.J. Loftie, ‘Abstract of Proceedings 1871-3’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, IX (1874), pp. xl - liii

²⁰ Hasted, Vol. III, p. 65 Bridgman, p. 5

²¹ Loftie, pp. xl - xli

²² Faulkner, p. 140

of a corner tower. It is a thick masonry wall running 4.65m north to south and returning westwards 3.15m at its southern end. Although now enclosed in later buildings it is defined by a plinth line on its outer face (Fig.28), an architectural element that Faulkner associated only with external walls and so suggested that it formed a projecting tower at one end of an outer curtain wall.²³ Whilst Faulkner was happy to attribute this anomalous feature to an early archiepiscopal phase, a stance also adopted, more recently, by Anthony Emery, others have raised the possibility that the tower and its associated features are remnants of a phase of building works predating 1456.²⁴ Oxford Archaeology, in their 2007 survey of Knole's fabric, for example, suggested that, "several elements of the standing building, principally around Stone and Water Courts, appear to contain elements that are either of greater antiquity than has been accepted to date, or, if dating to Bouchier's time, have been subject to fairly major structural change at a very early stage in the development of the house".²⁵ They concluded, however, that, "Such early elements that have been identified, have been observed and recorded in isolation from one another – to attempt any form of reconstruction of a pre-Bouchier house based upon such scant evidence is not possible given that so much has been added, removed or remodelled over the intervening years, and that the individual elements cannot be shown to be either contemporary or indeed related".²⁶

The details of these arguments will be dealt with more fully at a later point in this thesis when we will consider the evidence for early building phases (see pp 29-39). However, the key observation to make here is that the ongoing debate suggests the need for further work and the very fact of these, seemingly, early elements with their attendant potential to shed light on the pre-archiepiscopal house requires proper analysis. Whilst this study takes the same stance as Oxford Archaeology and considers that the physical evidence of the built structure is insufficient to reconstruct completely the pre-Bouchier building, it is, nonetheless, possible to offer a hypothesised account of the scale and chronology of an earlier manor house set against a discussion of its ownership.

²³ Faulkner, p. 142

²⁴ Emery, p. 376

²⁵ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 53

²⁶ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 53

2) The Early Owners of Knole

The development and transfer of the Knole estate can be traced through the documentary record in the *Carte Antique et Miscellanee* at Lambeth Palace Library as far back as the thirteenth century.²⁷ Its earliest identified owner was Robert de Knole, head of a local gentry family and bailiff of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Liberty in the 1290s. He is first mentioned in connection with Sevenoaks in a deed dated 1274 and whilst the exact extent of his landholdings cannot be reconstructed precisely, it is clear that he and his successors owned or leased property to the south-east of the town in the area of Knole Park.²⁸ Indeed, although it is not possible to be certain, it seems a fair assumption to suggest that the family took its name from a personal identification with the estate. For that reason the family name arguably reveals a settled presence at Knole and may be considered as demonstrative of an early house on or near the site. Of course, this is tenuous evidence – there is no surviving fabric and no direct reference to buildings at that time. Additionally, little is known about the family, so it is impossible to comment on the likely scale of their house. At most, however, it might have been no bigger or more elaborate than, say Old Soar Manor (c.1290), in Plaxtol about 6 miles to the east of Knole. Built at a similar time to Robert de Knole's occupation of the Sevenoaks estate and probably by a family of similar means as the De Knoles, Old Soar comprised an aisled, timber-framed hall, the surviving stone solar range and some ancillary service buildings.²⁹

By the middle of the fourteenth century the estates had passed into the ownership of the Grovehurst family and, in turn, in 1362 were transferred to Roger Ashburnham.³⁰ By 1364 Knole, which had previously been part of the manor of Otford, was being described as a manor in its own right, and a manor, we might assume, implies a manor house.³¹ It is possible that the house of the De Knoles still survived during the tenures of their successors but any regular occupation of it by the Grovehursts or Ashburnhams

²⁷ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of an Estate*, n.1

²⁸ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of an Estate*, p. 5

²⁹ J. Semple, 'Old Soar Manor; Land & Occupation over Seven Centuries', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, CXXIX (2009), pp. 155-171 J. Newman, *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*, (Yale: 2002), p. 464

³⁰ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of an Estate*, pp. 5-6

³¹ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of an Estate*, p. 6

seems unlikely. It is also unlikely, therefore, that the house was much augmented during that period, perhaps succumbing to some degree of neglect. Admittedly, it is difficult to be certain that the early owners were all non-resident the Grovehursts and the Ashburnhams were locally important landowners but are not visible enough in the surviving records of Knole for any in-depth analysis of their activities there. Henry Grovehurst, however, whose death in 1362 resulted in the Ashburnhams inheriting the manor, was described as the rector of Horsmonden and Roger Ashburnham himself, who in 1358 had inherited the Scotney estate on the border between Kent and Sussex, was preoccupied with building the castle there.³² The implication, therefore, must be that their principal residences were elsewhere and by consequence that any manor house at Knole was of little significance. Whether or not the property was leased out during that period is unclear, but no other names appear associated with Knole at that time.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Knole was purchased by Thomas Langley, the bishop of Durham, a man whose office and position make it unlikely that he saw the property as a potential residence but instead probably judged it a sensible financial investment. Langley, travelling on business in Kent in March 1419, had reason to pass through Sevenoaks. Seeing the manor of Knole he wrote to his receiver-general asking him to send as much money as he had to hand to meet his expenses. By the end of the following month Langley, acting through trustees, had bought the manor for 133 6s. 8d.³³ By purchasing lands outside of his bishopric Langley ensured that Knole remained private property and not part of the temporalities of his office. When he died in 1437 the estate appears to have remained in his family for, in 1444, it was acquired by Ralph Legh whose wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of a Henry Langley.³⁴ Neither the Bishop nor subsequent members of the family, however, appear to have lived at Knole. Henry remains an obscure figure, although is thought to be from Rickling in Essex, but Bishop Thomas Langley, was a central figure of both religious and political

³² J.S. Roskell et al., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, Vol. II, (Stroud: 1992), pp. 66-67; R. Goulding, & J. Clubb, 'Castle in the Garden: An Architectural History of Scotney Old Castle', *National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual*, (2010), p. 6

³³ R.L. Storey, *Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-1437*, (London: 1961), pp. 94-95. Storey gives his reference for the letter to Langley receiver-general as Dean and Chapter of Durham (DCD) Additional Doc. no. 108. However, the original document cannot be traced and does not match any listed in the catalogue of the Durham University Library (where the cathedral archives are now stored). Correspondence with the archive staff has also failed to bring the document to light.

³⁴ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of an Estate*, p. 6. There is some uncertainty whether Henry Langley was related to Bishop Thomas Langley. However, their shared surname is unlikely to be coincidence and suggests a family tie.

administration.³⁵ His archives, therefore, are extensive, but none of the documents in his register were written at Knole and therefore cannot provide evidence of a presence at the house.³⁶ Similarly, Ralph Legh, whose brief tenure of the estate lasted barely one year, was likewise almost certainly an absentee landlord. He was the Member of Parliament for Downton in Surrey and had a successful career at court – at the time of his ownership of Knole he held the position of Sergeant of the Catery. His principal lands were in Stockwell, Surrey, suggesting that the manor of Knole was an additional source of income acquired through his wife's family rather than the location of his principal house.³⁷

Where landlords were non-resident on their estates it has been suggested that the manor house was often a functional building used as a place of temporary accommodation and administration by the lord's staff.³⁸ It is unlikely then that before the mid-fifteenth century any house of great note stood on the site and the next owner of Knole, Sir James Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, cannot have bought himself an existing 'great house' in 1445 (see pp. 18-21). Rather, the extent of his purchase was probably, at most, a minor building of little architectural note, perhaps dilapidated after years of absenteeism and neglect, and certainly unsuitable as a principal residence for a man of Fiennes' standing.

3) The Birdhouse Site

Despite the assertion that no remains of an early house survive within the present buildings, we must consider the possibility that it existed in an alternative location within Knole Park. To the east of the main house there is a site today occupied by a cluster of buildings known as the Birdhouse (Fig.29). The hill on which these buildings stand rises to a clearly defined peak and forms the highest point in the park. We might wonder whether this was the 'knoll' from which the manor took its name.

³⁵ J.C. Wedgwood – A.D. Holt, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509*, (London: 1936), p. 533

³⁶ R.L. Storey (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, 1406-1437*, 4. Vols. (Gateshead: 1956-61)

³⁷ Wedgwood – Holt, p. 533

³⁸ M. Bailey, *The English Manor, c. 1200 – c.1500*, (Manchester: 2002), p. 4

The Birdhouse itself, after which the site is now named, is an unusual neo-gothic octagonal cottage certainly built in the mid-eighteenth century. To its east stands a series of low walls dissected in the middle by a gate arch and defined at each end by corner buttresses (Fig.30). To all intents and purposes it appears to be a medieval ruin. Vita Sackville-West, however, tells a different story of the remains:

“The ruins round the queer little sham Gothic house called the Bird House – which always frightened me as a child ... – were built for John Frederick’s grandfather about 1761, by one Captain Robert Smith ... they apparently purport to be the remains of some vast house, in defiance of the fact that no upper storey or roof of proportionate dimensions could ever possibly have rested upon the flimsy structure of flint and rubble which constitute the ruins”.³⁹

Beyond this, however, we can find no further evidence to attribute the remains to the eighteenth century and we may, therefore, offer an alternative to Vita’s explanation which she herself said should be, “accepted as fugitive impressions rather than examined as a scholarly contribution to [...] history”.⁴⁰

The surviving ruins certainly do not look like a normal eighteenth-century picturesque folly they are long (almost 100m north to south) and relatively low. At their northern end they appear as archaeological remains, barely breaking the ground surface and covered for the most part in soil and grass. To the south they are taller and stand to well above head height. However, they cannot be seen from Knole House indeed they face away from the main house, and they form no picturesque vista within the park. It is only when the visitor gets close up that they are noticed. Instead we might suggest that they are what they purport to be, a medieval ruin. The angled corner buttresses are similar to those on the Barn (L.05) (Fig.31) and the flint construction with rubble core and freestone dressings seems typical of the Middle Ages. A similar

³⁹ Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, p. 26

⁴⁰ Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, p. v

building practice was used at Eynsford Castle (Fig.18), a few miles to the north of Otford.⁴¹

It is clear that there have been some alterations to the primary wall to make it more picturesque. For instance, the projecting wall to the south of the large gate arch, which supposedly contains the remains of a porter's lodge, is built up against the main primary structure and is not keyed into it. The gate itself looks to be sixteenth century at the earliest (perhaps salvaged from Otford or elsewhere) and there is a small round brick building which stands incongruously behind the north end of the wall. These additions and alterations may have been a product of the 1760s. The rest of the primary structure that runs from north to south between the two buttresses, however, might be considered as one coherent piece of building for which no definite date can be evidenced.

Whether or not these were indeed the remains of an earlier manor house we cannot, of course, be certain. They might equally well have been a park lodge or another ancillary building to the archbishops' house. However, until eighteenth-century building accounts for the site are discovered or future archaeological investigation suggests otherwise, the present lack of evidence leaves us free to speculate that the surviving ruins might be the remains of a predecessor to the current Knole House.

⁴¹ A. Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building*, (London: 1972), pp. 195-202

Phase 1 B – Sir James Fiennes, 1445-1456

1) Sir James Fiennes

In June 1450 Kent rose in rebellion. The county was, to quote the historian Bertram Wolffe, amongst the “most politically conscious, responsive and best-informed” areas of the country and so it felt the series of political, economic and military crises that swept England in the mid-fifteenth century particularly acutely.⁴² The national economy was in trouble, the English hold on Normandy had crumbled and Calais was under threat. In a county that was so reliant on continental trade, markets were being lost and ports were suffering the constant threat of French raiding parties, problems which were compounded by increasingly high levels of taxation. In addition the king, Henry VI, was proving weak his frail health and a government dominated by powerful and unpopular factions encouraged an uprising.

The rebellion was led by Jack Cade and, by the middle of June 1450, it had set up camp at Blackheath. Sensing the danger they posed to London, Henry sent his troops against them, but in a bloody confrontation in the wooded countryside near Sevenoaks the rebels proved victorious.⁴³ Buoyed by their success, Cade’s rebels returned to London and the king’s resolve weakened. He ordered the arrest of several of the Kentish magnates whose actions had caused such explosive levels of unrest in the country. Amongst them was Sir James Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, the owner of Knole. Fiennes’ imprisonment in the Tower of London was short-lived however since the rebels persuaded the gaoler to release his prisoner into their custody and he was taken unceremoniously before a court at the Guildhall where he was sentenced to death and executed.⁴⁴

Fiennes was, by the time of his death, the most important secular landowner in Kent. Throughout the 1430s and 40s he had risen rapidly through the ranks of local

⁴² B. Wolffe, *Henry VI*, (London: 2001), p.232

⁴³ J.S. Davies (ed.), *An English chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI written before the year 1471*, Camden Society, Old Series 64 (London: 1856), p.66 Local tradition records that the battle took place at Sole Fields to the south of Sevenoaks.

⁴⁴ Davies, p.67

society and to positions of power and influence at Court. From his principal seat at Hever Castle (Fig.16 – 17) (given to him by his elder brother, Roger, before February 1430) he accumulated lands and offices across the county. By 1433 he had been elected a justice of the peace for Kent and he served as the sheriff of that county between 1436-7 (and as Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1438-9). In his capacity as Sheriff of Sussex, he returned his brother, Roger, to the parliament of 1439-40, whilst James himself represented Kent as an MP before his promotion to the House of Lords in 1447. By 1446 he had been granted the constablership of Rochester Castle and the following year he was given the dual and important posts of Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports.⁴⁵ At Court Fiennes had been an esquire of the body since 1438. A member of the king's inner circle he was able to quickly reap the rewards of royal favour. In 1444 he was knighted and the following year he was given the office of Chamberlain to the queen, Margaret of Anjou. By June 1447, however, he had moved to the more lucrative and influential positions of Chamberlain of the Household and King's Councillor and in September 1449 became Lord Treasurer.⁴⁶

In addition to the prerogatives gathered through royal service Fiennes also took office in the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Initially given custody of the bailiwicks of Otford and South Malling during the interregnum of the see of Canterbury in 1443 he was, later the same year, granted the stewardship of all the archiepiscopal estates.⁴⁷ Encouraged to make the appointment by Henry VI the new archbishop, John Stafford, wrote to the Prior of Canterbury to inform him that, “at the Kyngs special request and desire we have graunted under our seal to James Fenys, squyer for the body, yoffice of our stewardshyp for terme of hys lyf, wyth the fees accustomed yerto of olde tyme”, and asked the Prior to have, “consyderacion how the seid James stondyng aboute the Kyng as he dooth, may dayly proufyte our church and us”.⁴⁸ Fiennes was evidently recognised as a man of considerable power and influence.

⁴⁵ J.A. Nigota, ‘Fiennes, James, first Baron Saye and Sele (c.1390–1450)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 19 (Oxford: 2004), pp. 521-523

⁴⁶ Wedgwood – Holt, p. 322

⁴⁷ The accounts of Otford bailiwick in the year 1442-3 are inscribed to Sir James Fiennes, London, The National Archive (hereafter TNA) SC 6 1128 21

⁴⁸ J. Brigstocke Sheppard (ed.), *Litterae Cantuariensis: The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Vol. III, (London: 1889), pp. 182-183

With his offices came wealth and land, but also came charges of extortion and corruption. His territorial expansions in the south-east had been the product of bullying and intimidation as much as of preferment.⁴⁹ As a royal councillor he was seen as synonymous with, and symptomatic of, the poor leadership that was weakening the country and, along with his close ally the earl of Suffolk, was considered responsible for the military failures in France and the surrender of Maine.⁵⁰ By 1450 his fall was assured and the contemporary epithet of, “worthy dastarde of renowne”, well-earned.⁵¹

2) Sir James Fiennes and the Evidence for Building Work at Knole

Fiennes’ stewardship of the archbishop’s lands in Otford and his own territorial acquisitions in north-west Kent, in particular his ownership of the manor of Seal from which he took his title, Lord Saye and Sele, seem to have prompted his desire to own the neighbouring manor of Knole. In 1444 the manor was still in the possession of Ralph Legh and whilst its sale to Fiennes is not recorded specifically, it may be, as Charles Phillips suggested, that an entry in the Feet of Fines on the Octaves of St Michael (6th October) 1445 by which Fiennes bought from Legh, “5 messuages, 510 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, 300 acres of wood and 60s. rent and rent of 17 chickens in Sevenokes”, represents his purchase of the manor of Knole.⁵² It cost Fiennes 100 marks, significantly less than the 200 marks it had cost Thomas Langley.⁵³

⁴⁹ The priest who heard Fiennes’ last confession claimed that he admitted remorse for his acquisition of estates around Romney Marsh which he gained by arresting and coercing their rightful heir. “Of all the things that ever he dyde in his life”, reported the priest, his actions at Romney Marsh, “was moost in his consciens”. TNA C 1/27/419 quoted in Nigota, p. 522

⁵⁰ J. Stow, *Annales, or, A generall chronicle of England / Begun by John Stow ; continued and augmented with matters forraigne and domestique, ancient and moderne, unto the end of this present yeere, 1631.* by Edmund Howes, (London: 1631), p. 387 Wedgwood Holt, p. 323

⁵¹ T. Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History composed during the period from the Accession of Edw. III to that of Ric. III.*, Vol. 2 (London: 1861), p.230 I.M.W. Harvey, *Jack Cade’s Rebellion of 1450*, (Oxford: 1991), p.38

⁵² C.J. Phillips, *History of the Sackville family (earls and dukes of Dorset). Together with a description of Knole, early owners of Knole, and a catalogue raisonné of the pictures and drawings at Knole*, Vol. 2 (London: 1930), p. 389; TNA CP 25/1/115/319 no.648; For Ralph Legh’s ownership see D.M. Owens, *A Catalogue of Lambeth Manuscripts 889 to 901 (Carte Antique et Miscellaneae)*, (Gateshead: 1968), p. 35 (no. 37) p. 66 (no. 55)

⁵³ TNA CP 25 1 115 319 no.648. Storey, *Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham*, pp. 94-95

If this document does indeed refer to the purchase of the Knole estate, it contains no mention of an associated manor house. However, it was under Fiennes' tenure that a discernable architectural history of Knole begins. There is no surviving archive from the years of Fiennes' ownership and the first mention of Knole as a building (as opposed to Knole as a manor) is in the accounts of Archbishop Bouchier's receiver for the bailiwick of Otford for the year 1455-1456, the same year in which Bouchier bought the property. The accounts record that he immediately spent £47 12s 11d, "*super reparacione manerii de Knolle, quod quidem manerium dictus dominus archiepiscopus noviter perquisivit de domino de Say*" ["on repairs to the manor of Knole, the which manor the said lord archbishop has newly purchased from the Lord of Say"].⁵⁴ Of the total cost, 6 3d was spent on roof-tiles, nails, shingling, lime, sand and timber as well as carriage and the labourers to do the work the remainder was spent on lead.⁵⁵ These accounts will be discussed in further detail in a later chapter, but the point to make here is that they evidence that a house did stand at Knole before archiepiscopal tenure of the property. It seems that what buildings existed at Knole when Bouchier arrived in 1456 were at such a level of completeness that the archbishop's builders were able to begin work straight away. Indeed, the accounts reveal, in the scope and type of materials purchased, that the house was complete enough that roofers could start laying lead, tiles and shingles, indicating that much of the structure and layout of the building must have been finished by the time of the sale.

There are several possible ways to explain the condition of the building that Archbishop Bouchier bought in 1456. On the one hand Knole may have fallen into disrepair in the six years since the death of James Fiennes because his heirs had neither the money nor the inclination to carry out necessary maintenance. It is unlikely, however, that financial concerns were a consideration for Fiennes' heirs since they remained in positions of influence. On the other hand the house might have been damaged by Jack Cade and his rebels during their march through Kent. In London and across the country the mob had caused havoc. An acquaintance of Sir John Paston, who was unfortunate enough to get on the wrong side of the rebels, recounted that, "In Kent there as my wyfe dwellyd, they toke away all oure godes mevabyll that we had, and there wolde have hongyd my wyfe and v. of my children, and left her no more gode but

⁵⁴ TNA SC 6 1129 4

⁵⁵ Ibid.

her kyrtyll and her smook”.⁵⁶ And, in the south-west rioters murdered the Bishop of Salisbury and, “breaking down the houses and building of the monastery [at Edington], took and carried away the goods and jewels of the petitioners”.⁵⁷ We might suspect that any action against the property of James Fiennes, who featured prominently in the chronicle accounts, would be afforded a specific mention in at least one of the documentary sources. However, the sources, limited though they are, make no mention of an attack on Knole. The implication, consequently, is that no attack took place.

The most plausible explanation for Knole’s condition in 1456, therefore, must be that the builders had not completed the house by the time of Fiennes’ death and that the archbishop bought it in an unfinished state. The reason then that Cade and his men are not recorded as attacking the house may be that they found little more than an uninhabited building site when they arrived in Sevenoaks. There is little evidence to suggest that James Fiennes had a pedigree as a patron of architecture (although his brother Roger was responsible for the pioneering building at Herstmonceux Castle (Fig.19)). James did, however, through his position at Court, become involved in the establishment and construction of Eton College. Indeed, the first of the building accounts for the college were inscribed, “To my ryght worshipful [...] and especal good master James Fenys squier for the kyngs body”.⁵⁸ Additionally, his role as Steward of the archiepiscopal estates during the 1440s may have involved him in the building works at houses like Otford during that decade.⁵⁹ He no doubt had access, therefore, to the most skilled builders and craftsmen of his day.

It is amongst Archbishop Bouchier’s papers that we find the most convincing evidence with which to support the hypothesis that Knole was left unfinished. When, in 1456, the archbishop bought the estate from James’s son William, the deeds of sale recorded that Bouchier was entitled to “alle tymbur woode ledde stone and breeke-being or lying wythine the saide manore landes and tenements And at the Quarree of John Cartiers in the parsshe of the Seall”.⁶⁰ Since apparently considerable quantities of building material were evidently still stockpiled on the estate in 1456 it is possible that

⁵⁶ J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Paston Letters*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: 1904), p. 156

⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat. Henry VI*, V, p. 560 Davies, p. 64

⁵⁸ Eton, Eton College Library COLL BA 1 (f.1r)

⁵⁹ TNA SC 6 1128 21

⁶⁰ CKS U1450 T4 17

they were materials that had been left unused when building work was prematurely halted in 1450.

At his death then, Fiennes had not completed his new house and the location he had chosen in the middle of Knole Park remained a building site. It is certainly probable that much of the work was complete since, as we will see in the following chapter, it required a roof and new interiors to make it habitable. However, given that amongst the stockpiled materials were also building stone and bricks we might suggest that the structure Fiennes left was only a small part of the house that he had planned to build (although without an indication of the quantity of available materials it is difficult to be certain of this conclusion). It was up to Knole's next owner, Thomas Bouchier, the archbishop of Canterbury, to turn it into the noble great house it was to become.

Phase 2 A.1 – Archbishop Bouchier: Early Building Works and the Consolidation and Completion of Phase 1 B, 1456-1459

1) Archbishop Thomas Bouchier

Archbishop Bouchier bought Knole from William Fiennes on 30th June 1456 for the sum of 400 marks 266 13s. 4d. ⁶¹ At that time in the 1450s Thomas Bouchier's star was on the rise. Aided by fortuitous family ties – his mother, Anne of Woodstock, was the daughter and heir of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and a granddaughter of the Plantagenet king, Edward III – as a young man Thomas had risen quickly through the ranks of the church. In 1434 he had been promoted to the bishopric of Worcester, despite being below the usual minimum age for consecration, and nine years later he succeeded Louis de Luxembourg as bishop of Ely. As an aristocrat and an ecclesiastic he fitted in easily at Court the 1430s and 1440s saw the young bishop occupied more readily with affairs of state in the royal council than with diocesan business (a position that was to see him criticised by a contemporary historian of Ely for never celebrating mass in his cathedral). In addition he held the chancellorship of his university, Oxford, between 1434 and 1437, conducting his business there in Nevill's Inn. ⁶²

In the winter of 1453-4 Henry VI was incapacitated by a bout of the mental illness that was to shape the remainder of his life. Bouchier played the king's misfortune to his advantage. At the February parliament in 1454, Thomas revealed a new-found political prominence when he spoke in the king's name and charged the commons to elect a new speaker. ⁶³ This prominence quickly showed its rewards. On 22nd March of that year Cardinal John Kemp, chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, died suddenly at

⁶¹ CKS U1450 T4 17

⁶² F.R.H. Du Boulay (ed.), *Registrum Thome Bourghier: Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1454-1486*, (Oxford: 1957), p. xiv; L. Clark, 'Bouchier, Thomas (c.1411–1486)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 6, (Oxford: 2004), pp. 823-826

⁶³ Clark, p. 824

Lambeth Palace.⁶⁴ Within only eight days Bouchier had been recommended and accepted as Kemp's successor in the see. He was translated from Ely on the 21st June and enthroned at Canterbury on 24th January. By the following March he had also been appointed Chancellor. Aged about 44 years he now held both the most important offices in the country he was in charge of the Church in England and, nominally at least, at the head of government.

2) Bouchier's Purchase of Knole

His rise to power complete, Bouchier needed a house to match his status and his purchase of Knole in 1456 coincided precisely with his arrival in high office. Close enough to London to act as a political base, yet remote enough to provide a degree of seclusion and retreat, Knole was a good site from which to consolidate this new position. It was also a near neighbour of Penshurst (Fig.20), the seat of Humphrey Stafford, first duke of Buckingham, Bouchier's half brother and close political ally. But, as archbishop of Canterbury, he already had numerous houses dotted across the south-east. Indeed, just a few miles to the north of Knole was Otford, an established archiepiscopal house. Bouchier, however, bought Knole from William Fiennes in his own name; this was initially Bouchier's house and estate, not a palace and park of the archiepiscopate, since it was not until 1480 that he officially presented it to the see of Canterbury.⁶⁵ Knole was a financial opportunity the investment of new-found wealth in land and masonry and Bouchier seems to have decided to spend his new fortune on a building project. Perhaps at Knole he also saw scope for creating a personal architectural statement of his new wealth and power. Although begun by Fiennes, Knole was probably more of a blank canvas than Otford and the proximity of the two buildings (they are about 4 miles apart) allowed him to embark on a substantial and prolonged campaign of building at Knole whilst retaining a base in the area for his household. Perhaps also, like Henry VIII eighty years later, Bouchier recognised the desirability of Knole's hilltop location over the low-lying marshy land around Otford.⁶⁶ However, the

⁶⁴ R.G. Davies, 'Kemp, John (1380/81–1454)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 31, (Oxford: 2004), p. 176

⁶⁵ Canterbury, Ch. Ch. Cant. Reg. S. (ff.313r – 313v)

⁶⁶ Gough-Nichols, *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, p. 266

available evidence suggests that in 1456 it was primarily the investment rather than the building potential that attracted the archbishop to Knole initially it seems the estate was bought simply as an extension of the archbishop's existing lands in Otford and Sevenoaks and was part of a territorial expansion that characterised Bouchier's tenure.⁶⁷ Indeed, as will be shown below, Bouchier did not embark on substantial building works until 1460, four years after he purchased the estate, and in the preceding years had only consolidated an existing building which he visited infrequently.

Archbishop Bouchier bought Knole from Sir James Fiennes' son and heir William Fiennes. William, it seems, was known personally to the archbishop. At Bouchier's enthronement feast in Canterbury on 26th January 1454 Fiennes dined with the archbishop and his most important guests in the "*alba aula*" [White Hall] of the palace. Sharing the table with him were, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset Humphrey, earl of Stafford Henry Bouchier, Count of Eu John, Viscount Beaumont William Bouchier, Viscount Fitzwarin John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners and Edward Nevill, Lord Bergavenny. These were Bouchier's kinsmen and closest allies and they were amongst the most powerful men in the country. William Fiennes had clearly not been damaged by his father's recent disgrace and had easily established himself at the top of English society. Additionally, dining with them on that day was John Lord Clinton, William Fiennes' paternal uncle and, in the Great Hall was Richard Fiennes, later lord Dacre, William's cousin.⁶⁸ The Fiennes family then were clearly very much a part of the archbishop's political network. It is not clear how the link was formed but it is likely that contact between Fiennes and the archbishop came as a result of the association between William Fiennes and Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham who was Thomas Bouchier's elder half brother. In 1450 William Fiennes had sold the Constablership of Dover Castle and Wardenship of the Cinque Ports to Humphrey Stafford and in return Stafford had made him a retainer with a grant of 10 a year.⁶⁹ The presence of the two men on the same table at the archbishop's enthronement suggests

⁶⁷ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of and Estate*, p. 8

⁶⁸ W.G. Searle, (ed.), *Christ Church, Canterbury : I. The chronicle of John Stone, monk of Christ Church 1415-1471. II. Lists of the deans, priors, and monks of Christ Church Monastery*, (Cambridge: 1902), pp. 62 – 63

⁶⁹ C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham: 1394-1521*, (Cambridge: 1978), pp. 75 118

that close personal and political links had subsequently developed creating a network of patronage on which Bouchier could rely.

For Knole's history this is undoubtedly significant for whilst Du Boulay saw in the development of the Knole estate an element of bullying and forced land exchange visited on local Kentish landowners by the archbishop's agents, here in the transfer of the manor from Fiennes to Bouchier we may suggest a more amicable settlement.⁷⁰ The close links and apparent patronage between these two powerful men seems to indicate that the sale of Knole was brought about by mutual benefit rather than by extortion. Indeed, Bouchier bought Knole from Fiennes for a sum of 400 marks 266 13s. 4d. .⁷¹ Whilst it is difficult to assess the value of property in the period, this appears to have been a fair price. In 1419 when Thomas Langley had purchased the estate he had paid 200 marks 133 6s 8d .⁷² Twenty six years later James Fiennes paid just 100 marks 66 13s. 2d. for Knole, although arguably this low price is more reflective of Fiennes' threatening methods than of its true worth.⁷³ Within the space of thirty seven years, therefore, the manor had doubled in value whilst the value of English currency had stayed fairly consistent.⁷⁴ James Fiennes had been active in expanding the estate during his short tenure, and the price paid by Bouchier for Knole probably reflects the increase in value caused both by the accumulation of land and the addition of a new, if incomplete, manor house.⁷⁵

3) Archbishop Bouchier's Building Works

For the archbishop's builders the first task was to make the house habitable. No detailed accounts of their work survive to offer a comprehensive study of the scope and chronology of building works at Knole. However, annual summaries were kept by the archbishop's Receiver for the bailiwick of Otford, into which Knole fell, and these shed

⁷⁰ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of an Estate*, p. 8

⁷¹ CKS U1450 T4 17

⁷² Storey, *Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham*, pp. 94-95

⁷³ Phillips, Vol. 2, p. 389 TNA CP 25 1 115 319 no. 648

⁷⁴ P. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, (London: 1986), p. 198

⁷⁵ Du Boulay, *The Assembling of an Estate*, pp. 7-8

some light onto the development of the house (Appendix 1). A short article by Du Boulay was the first to draw on this source to illustrate Knole's architectural history.⁷⁶ Du Boulay recognised, however, that the series of Receiver's accounts for the bailiwick is incomplete.⁷⁷ As a result the article only includes transcriptions from the records that relate to Knole in the accounting periods Michaelmas 1455 to Christmas 1456 (TNA SC 6 1129 4), Christmas 1462 to Christmas 1463 (TNA SC 6 1129 7), and 1465 to 1466 (TNA SC 6 1129 8). Whether deliberately or inadvertently, however, Du Boulay only scratched the surface of this resource and overlooked the richness of its contents for use in a study of both Knole and Otford. Whilst he was correct in his assertion that the series of Receiver's accounts is incomplete, he somewhat over-stated the degree to which this is the case. A search of the catalogues of The National Archive, Lambeth Palace Library and the Centre for Kentish Studies reveals that a much more complete series of accounts survives than he supposed (Appendix 1). It is the information in these accounts that will form the basis of much of the discussion presented here.

Building work began immediately in 1456. The annual accounts for the year 1455 to 1456 indicate that the clerks responsible for the building operations very quickly employed a workforce and purchased materials:

“ut in denariis solutis pro tegulis clavus sindulis calce zabulo emptis et expenditis in opere predicto ac pro sarracione meremii et asserum, cariagio dicti meremii et aliarum rerum de diversis locis usque manerium predictum simul cum conduccione carpentorum tegulorum plumbatorum daubatorum et aliorum operarorum et laborarorum conductorum ad opus predictum per dictum tempus hujus compoti”.⁷⁸

[“Paid for buying tiles, nails, shingling, lime and sand for use in the aforesaid works and for the sawing of timber and planks, carriage of the said timber and of the other things from diverse places in the aforesaid

⁷⁶ Du Boulay, ‘A Note on the Rebuilding of Knole’, pp. 135-139

⁷⁷ Du Boulay, ‘A Note on the Rebuilding of Knole’, p. 136

⁷⁸ TNA SC 6 1129 4

manor, likewise for the hiring of carpenters, tilers, plumbers, plasterers and other workmen and labourers hired for the aforesaid work during the said period of these accounts”.]

Although the sale document additionally details that stone and brick were amongst the building materials already stockpiled on the estate the Receiver's accounts make no mention of masons or bricklayers.⁷⁹ It is evident, therefore, that much of the work undertaken at Knole in the initial months after its purchase was intended to consolidate an unfinished building by making new roofs and interiors. Indeed, it was lead that was the archbishop's greatest expense during this phase of works and it is the provision of lead that is recorded in most detail in the accounts. Typical of the expenses for that year are the following payments:

*"Et in denariis solutis de cofferis domini pro 3 foderis plumbi emptis et
expensis in opere predicto, precio singule fodere £4 £12 0s. 0d.*

...

*Et in denariis solutis de cofferis domini per manus Johannis Lee pro
novo plumbo per ipsum empto Londonie et expedito in opere predicto
£1 12s. 0d.”⁸⁰*

["And paid from the lord's coffers for 3 fother of lead bought and used
in the said works, the price of a single fother 4 12 0s. 0d.

...

And paid from the lord's coffers by the hand of John Lee for new lead
bought by him in London and used in the said works £1 12s. 0d.”]

Much of the lead, however, was already in the archbishop's stores at Lambeth Palace and simply needed transporting to the site. This is reflected clearly in the accounts:

⁷⁹CKS U1450 T4 17 TNA SC 6 1129 4

80 TNA SC 6 1129 4

*“Et de £4 13s. 4d. receptis per manus Alexandri Wode unius receptorum domini, in precio plumbi operati de stauro de Lambhithe super reparacione predicti manerii de Knolle”.*⁸¹

[“And the £4 13s. 4d. received from the hand of Alexander Wood one of the lord’s receivers, for the price of worked lead from the stores at Lambeth for the repairs at the foresaid manor of Knole”.]

The Receiver’s accounts for the year 1457 to 1460 make no mention of further building works.⁸² In October 1456 Thomas Bouchier’s rapid rise came to an abrupt halt. England was fracturing politically and the Battle of St Albans in May 1455 had seen the Duke of York reappointed as protector to Henry VI. Thomas Bouchier had survived the ensuing political turmoil and his brother Henry, York’s brother-in-law, had been appointed treasurer. The archbishop’s political fortunes had seemed safe. But by the autumn of 1456 the balance of power was once again shifting. The queen, Margaret of Anjou, and her supporters had established a power base in the Midlands and the two Bouchier brothers, seen by Margaret as allies of York, were, “sodeynly discharged”, from office as chancellor and treasurer.⁸³ His fall from political power was a blow that probably dented his finances and perhaps also his confidence. Certainly it distracted him from Knole and consequently building work at the house came to a halt.⁸⁴

⁸¹ TNA SC 6 1129 4

⁸² TNA SC 6 1129 5 TNA SC 6 1129 6 LPL ED 1242 LPL ED 1346 The account roll for the year 1456 7 is missing.

⁸³ Gairdner, Vol. 3, p. 108 Clark, pp. 824-825

⁸⁴ The account rolls for the receiver of Otford bailiwick from the years 1457-60 do not contain any evidence of building works at Knole. Although it is possible that continuing building works were accounted for elsewhere and are thus invisible, the evidence strongly suggests a cessation of construction at this time. TNA SC 6 1129 5 TNA SC 6 1129 6 London, Lambeth Palace Library (hereafter LPL) ED 1242 LPL ED 1346.

4) Knole House in 1456

It is likely that the short phase of works in 1456 had brought Knole to a state of completion and that Fiennes' vision for the property had been realised, at least in part. Bouchier, as far as can be told from his register, stayed at Knole for the first time on 5th March 1459 so a habitable building must then have existed by that date.⁸⁵ It may have been on that visit that the archbishop discovered his great love for the estate, but he also saw that his new house was not of sufficient size to accommodate his household for any sustained period. The following year, therefore, his builders began a more comprehensive and complete remodelling of Knole (see pp. 40-71).⁸⁶

The house in which Bouchier stayed in March 1459 is difficult to reconstruct, but we may at least point out some of its features (Fig.05). It seems that, compared with the present structure, it was a relatively small building and may have been centred on what is now Water Court. There is no extant fabric in the structures to the west of the Great Hall (G.121 – for room numbers see Figs.01-04) that can be shown to pre-date Bouchier's acquisition of the house. Indeed, along the west facing wall at the point at which the Great Hall range adjoins Black Boy Passage (G.68) a plinth line can be seen projecting a few centimetres above the current floor level. This is an apparently external feature which suggests that in an early phase the westward extent of the house terminated at this point and that the later addition of Stone Court necessitated a build-up of the ground level. To the east of the Great Hall in the ranges surrounding Water Court the phasing is more complex and shows signs of having been altered at an early date during the archbishop's restructuring.

Water Court, then, was the principal courtyard of the 1456 house and was entered through a gateway in the position of what is now Still Room Passage (G.119). In the northern wall of the passage the remains of the upright jamb of the former gate arch

⁸⁵ LPL Reg. Bouchier, f.76r In the printed catalogue (Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourghier*, p. 253) the date of the document signed at Knole and thus evidencing this first stay is given as 5th March 1459 whilst in the original register the year given is 1458 (f.76r). This causes some confusion over its date. However, it should be noted that where it is recorded in the original register it is chronologically amongst the records of 1459. Furthermore, amongst the documents from 1458 there is another dated 5th March 1458 which is signed at Lambeth (f.74r). It is reasonable to assume, as Du Boulay did in the catalogue, therefore, that the clerk recording the documents on f.76r made an error and thus to ascribe it to 5th March 1459 and not to 1458.

⁸⁶ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

may still be seen (Fig.32). The front of the house, therefore, faced east, and in this original layout, begun by Fiennes, Knole was orientated in the opposite direction to the present building. The entrance front itself comprised the central gatehouse and a corner tower at either end of the facade.⁸⁷ At the northern extreme the corner tower survives the substantial structure (4.65m north to south by 3.15m east to west) now enclosed within later ranges has a plinth (Fig.28) that matches the concave moulding profile of the Black Boy Passage plinth and suggests both that this was originally an external feature and that it was built as part of the same phase as the north end of the Great Hall range. This is a feature that seems to hint at a symmetrical facade so it is probable that a tower also stood in the equivalent position at the south end of the east front. Oxford Archaeology suggested that the southern corner tower is represented by the room (G.134) abutting the north-east end of the Chapel (M.03) which has a plinth defining the outside of its north and east walls (Fig.05).⁸⁸ The alignment and position of this structure, however, is uncomfortable and is probably more likely to be representative of an intermediate phase of building concurrent with, or soon after, the building of the Chapel with which it more closely aligns. It is more likely that the original corner tower was destroyed by the addition of the Chapel (M.03), almost certainly during Bouchier's works of the 1460s and 70s. A tower in this position would have given the elevation a more exact symmetrical appearance.

Connecting all these features, the gateway and the corner towers, was a curtain wall also defined on its eastern face by a plinth. It is only a single thickness and was probably either free-standing or had timber framed ranges along its western side.⁸⁹ In its alignment the curtain wall is not at right-angles with most of the surrounding, later structures. Indeed, it stands about 7 degrees askew, an anomaly which adds strength to the hypothesis that it is of an earlier date and unconnected to subsequent building phases. The exception is Men's Court directly to its west which is on the same askewed alignment. The east side of this small narrow courtyard is formed by the curtain wall and the west side, barely 3m apart, is formed by a timber-framed wall standing parallel to the curtain wall. This wall, however, has been shown to include the eastern gable end of an early timber building that stood to the west of this line. Recent surveys have

⁸⁷ Faulkner, p. 142 Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 53

⁸⁸ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 36

⁸⁹ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 53

identified infilled windows at both ground and first floor levels suggesting that the space now occupied by Men's Court has always been an open courtyard.⁹⁰ Although we cannot be certain of the relative chronology of these two features Philip Dixon, who surveyed this part of the house, suggested that the timber building belongs to an early phase of building at Knole.⁹¹ This suggests that the early house was comprised of masonry external curtain walls enclosing timber-framed ranges inside. In its conception and its broad appearance, therefore, it may have been like James Fiennes' other house, Hever Castle, where the ranges facing into the courtyard are of timber whilst the outer walls are stone (Fig.17).

On the opposite side of Water Court, directly across from the Still Room Passage gateway, was the Great Hall (G.121). It seems probable that the hall of the house as conceived by Fiennes and finished by Bouchier stood in the same position as the present Great Hall, for despite the later remodelling at Knole, precedent suggests that halls usually remain static whilst the ancillary and adjoining buildings were altered or moved. Just over half a century later at Hampton Court, for example, Wolsey retained Giles Daubeney's Great Hall whilst rebuilding and extending much of the rest of the house on a different alignment, and Henry VIII in turn used the footings of Daubeney's hall on which to build his own.⁹² At The Vyne too the hall remained in place whilst the house altered around it and when Bouchier's successor Archbishop Warham came to remodel Otford he demolished and rebuilt the whole house with the exception of the hall and the chapel.⁹³ Features within Knole's hall, however, suggest that the Great Hall was remodelled during a later phase. The doors leading to the Lead Stairs and to the Great Staircase (G.123) as well as the Screens Passage door from the Old Kitchen Lobby (G.98) all share similar moulding profiles with doors in parts of the house more securely datable to Bouchier's subsequent building phases (Fig.10), most notably the Bouchier Tower Room (F.154 and F.155) and the Chapel (M.03). Although in the same position as the present hall, therefore, the Great Hall of the 1456 house probably had a different character to the hall as remodelled during Bouchier's later building phases.

⁹⁰ Dixon, p. 14

⁹¹ Dixon, p. 14

⁹² D. Ford & M. Turner, 'The Kynges New Haul: A Response to Jonathan Foyle's 'Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace'', *Architectural History*, 47 (2004), pp. 53-76

⁹³ M. Howard & E. Wilson, *The Vyne: A Tudor House Revealed*, (London: 2003), p. 94 Erasmus Ep. 1400 see Mynors & Thomson, Vol. 10, p. 122

If we accept that the Great Hall stood in the same position and presumably therefore with the high and low ends on the same alignment then we must assume that the archbishop's chambers were to its south as the significant state rooms still are today. This area of the house, however, has been subjected to some of the most sustained and intrusive series of alterations and we can only approach a very basic assessment of how the layout of these apartments appeared on completion of the consolidation works in 1456. Nonetheless, we are aided by the extensive archaeological surveys of the south range undertaken by Philip Dixon during 2007-8. Dixon identified that the earliest extant fabric within the south range was the masonry wall between the Pheasant Court Building (G.142 / F.133) and Duke's Tower (G.144 / F.137).⁹⁴ The wall survived a subsequent rebuilding of the Duke's Tower. Associated with the early wall feature is a cellar (L.48 / L.49) below the Duke's Tower but of a demonstrably earlier date than the tower's rebuilding. In the north-west corner of the cellar (L.48) there are the lower five steps of a newel stair which formerly gave access to rooms on floors above (Fig.33). However, it has been truncated, as has the ceiling height of the cellar room in which it stands, by the rebuilding of Duke's Tower. There are no evident remains of the newel stair in the rooms above which evidences that the tower was completely demolished and rebuilt at a date not later than the end of Archbishop Bouchier's occupation.⁹⁵ The rebuilding of the tower replaced and enlarged an earlier tower building on similar footings. However, the cellar and therefore also the original tower, predated the Chapel, the undercroft (L.50) of which communicates with the Duke's Tower cellar (L.49) via a connecting doorway. On its southern side the doorway connects badly with the surrounding masonry a feature that led Dixon to conclude that the Chapel undercroft was built against the already standing tower.⁹⁶ The Chapel itself, however, can be shown to predate the rebuilding of the Duke's Tower since the external return between the Chapel's south wall and the tower's east wall reveals that the builders extended the structure slightly eastwards necessitating that they recessed part of the wall in order to accommodate the pre-existing western-most window of the Chapel (Fig.34).

⁹⁴ Dixon, p. 11

⁹⁵ A fireplace, formerly in the first floor room of Duke's Tower (F.137), was carved in the spandrels with the arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bouchier heraldic knot and the phrase "*Benedictus Deus*". See Fig. 11

⁹⁶ Dixon, p. 12

To the north of Duke's Tower, Dixon suggested that a two storey timber-framed structure pre-dated both the extant Pheasant Court building (G.142 F.133) and the Chapel (M.03). Dixon identified a scarcement ledge on the north side of the dividing wall between Duke's Tower and Pheasant Court Building at a depth of c.800mm below the current floor level of the Pheasant Court Room (F.133). This ledge, he suggested, lodged the floor of a building contemporary with the original structure of Duke's Tower. The lack of associated masonry beyond that of its south wall, suggests that the building was made of timber like the Pheasant Court Building that replaced it.⁹⁷ Dixon could not, however, establish the distance that the building projected north, although he forwarded the opinion that it was probably little bigger than the present Pheasant Court Building and may have fulfilled a similar function.⁹⁸

Pheasant Court seems to have always been an open courtyard. It was bounded on its south and west sides by the predecessors to the present Pheasant Court Building (G.142 F.133) and the Ballroom range (G.146 F.138) and on the east by the access ways to the Chapel (M.03). To its north the courtyard was defined by an undressed rubble wall forming what Dixon called a garden wall. This structure created a defined courtyard space by partitioning it from Water Court to the north and its original construction seems to predate the building of the Ballroom range since the remains of the wall can be traced below that building.⁹⁹ In a subsequent phase the wall was rebuilt and a pentice corridor (G.126) (Fig.35) providing access from the Great Hall to the Chapel was built against its north side. In its earliest phase, however, the thin wall was probably free-standing although, whilst the present chapel corridor seems to be early-sixteenth century in date, it is possible that it replaced an earlier pentice on similar footings (see pp. 103-110).

Beyond these individual building elements it is almost impossible to reconstruct the layout and functions of the south range during this early phase. Equally difficult to interpret are the ranges that enclosed Water Court to the north. Today the bulk of the range is dominated by the medieval Kitchens (G.99), a space apparently datable to the mid- to late-fifteenth century on the basis of the moulded arch-braced roof that spans the room (Fig.36). Yet the Kitchen's phasing cannot be so straightforward. The roof trusses

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Dixon, p. 13

⁹⁹ Dixon, pp. 23-24

respect the fenestration of the kitchen's south wall, but those on the north are built across the blocked openings of former windows and corbels project awkwardly, redundantly and at random from the wall (Fig.37). At its west end the kitchen roof is jointed to a further roof structure above the Pigeon Lofts (F.87 – 89 S.99 - 100). Whilst the two roofs vary in style – that of the Kitchen is decorated and designed for show whilst the Pigeon Loft roof is of a plainer appearance – they are, nonetheless, thought to be of a single phase of construction.¹⁰⁰ They join, however, above the timber framed west wall of the Kitchen which itself is built across the arch of a former fireplace (Fig.38). The roof and the partition wall must both, therefore, be secondary to the Kitchen's original building phase. The wall is provisionally datable to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth centuries by its association with the hollow-chamfer and ogee moulded ceiling joists of the Kitchen Lobby (G.98) to its west (Fig.39). In Bouchier's time, therefore, the Kitchen must have reached further to the west for these mouldings seem stylistically to be the work of his successor, Warham.¹⁰¹

We cannot, however, be certain that this kitchen was part of Bouchier's initial building campaign or indeed a remnant of James Fiennes' early house. Despite the evidence of its substantial and relatively rapid alterations it is impossible to place it within a more exact chronology. Whether or not, therefore, this was the kitchen that fed the household that stayed at Knole in the 1450s cannot be known. However, it seems unlikely that it was. A document in the Lambeth Palace Library collections detailing building work which is catalogued as relating to Knole and dated 1466-7 records that a labourer was employed to work in the, "olde kechyn", at that time.¹⁰² The use of the description 'olde' may, perhaps, be circumstantial and misleading, but it seems to suggest that a separate kitchen existed that predated the surviving one. Certainly it points towards there being more than one kitchen at that date. Furthermore, for the house's original kitchen to occupy one whole side of its principal courtyard must be considered unlikely and would surely represent an unusual piece of domestic planning if it did. In a house apparently consisting of only one courtyard it seems much more

¹⁰⁰ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 35

¹⁰¹ Similar ceilings survive at both Lambeth Palace and Croydon Palace and in those houses are thought to be attributable to Morton and Warham.

¹⁰² LPL ED 543-1a J. Sayers, *Estate Documents at Lambeth Palace Library*, (Leicester: 1965), p. 24 The document should be used with some degree of caution since it is undated and contains no specific mention of Knole.

plausible to suggest that this northern range initially housed lodgings or ranges of a similar function rather than a large service range.

To this end we might note that the layout of the north range compares favourably, at least in part, with that of the south ranges. The southern projection of Duke's Tower is seemingly mirrored to the north by the projecting range of that part of what is now called the Queen's Court Flat that forms the lobby and living room (G.90-92) as well as two bedrooms on the first floor (F.91-93) (Fig.05). Duke's Tower, in its early form, measured, according to Philip Dixon's estimate 10.5m east to west by 6.25m north to south and the north tower appears to share similar measurements.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the east and west walls of both towers align almost exactly and the mid-point of a line connecting the Duke's Tower to the Queen's Court Flat tower aligns with the centre of the Still Room Passage gate, suggesting a further degree of symmetry in the early plan. In their survey Oxford Archaeology suggested that the Queen's Court Flat might be a nineteenth-century extension or reconstruction of earlier buildings.¹⁰⁴ This conclusion, however, ignores the medieval door at the north end of its western wall (Fig.40). Although it now leads only on to a flat roof formed by later infilling we can assume that the door is *in situ* and probably once had steps down into Queen's Court. This then appears to be a feature of the earliest extant building phase and, although its alignment with the Duke's Tower might be argued to be only coincidental, it certainly seems to represent a contemporary structure designed to invest the house with a degree of symmetry in its plan. Although the north tower has subsequently been reduced in height it may be considered as a projecting tower equivalent to the southern Duke's Tower.

Whilst it is difficult to give a function to the north tower its existence adds further weight to the possibility that the Kitchen was originally elsewhere. Precedent would point towards one of two likely alternative locations. Margaret Wood stated that a common development of late-medieval domestic planning was to place the kitchen at right angles to the hall block.¹⁰⁵ It is possible then that a kitchen block originally existed below the north ranges of Stone Court and that any evidence for it was erased by

¹⁰³ Dixon, p. 11 Because subsequent building phases have enclosed the north tower it is difficult to accurately measure its dimensions. However, scale plans of the house show it to be similar in size and position to the Duke's Tower in the south.

¹⁰⁴ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole, Conservation Management Plan: Appendix 3, Gazetteer*, (Unpublished report: June 2007), p. 291

¹⁰⁵ M. Wood, *The English Medieval House*, (London: 1965), p. 252

Bourchier's second phase of building work. This, however, negates the suggestion raised above that both kitchens were standing in 1466-7 since it is clear that by that date the extant north range of Stone Court had been completed (see pp. 52-53). The alternative then is to consider that an earlier kitchen was located in the area of Queen's Court, perhaps as a free-standing structure like those at Glastonbury Abbey or Stanton Harcourt. Further building ranges in this area might also account for the apparently random corbels that remain on the north and east facing projections of the north range which are visible from Queen's Court (Fig.41). Additionally, it is notable that the projecting ranges on the north-east corner of the complex, now known as Laundry Cottage (G.161 – G.168), appear to contain fabric of an early date. The square 'tower' on the west side of the building (G.163) contains at the ground floor level of its west-facing wall a small window of late medieval two centred type (Fig.42) unlike any other extant windows at Knole. Although the Laundry Cottage is built on the same alignment as the rest of the house its position and slight detachment are unusual. Whilst it is possible that it simply represents a free-standing service range built during an archiepiscopal phase it may also be considered that it is a remnant of an earlier campaign of building and related to other medieval service buildings in Queen's Court that have since been demolished.

Access from a Queen's Court kitchen towards the Great Hall may have been provided by the double medieval-type doors that today form the main north range entrance (Fig.43). Although the timber and brick partition between the two doorways and the stairs onto which they provide access are all later insertions, the doors themselves seem to be *in situ*.¹⁰⁶ They are of a two-centred type with a hollow-chamfered moulding profile and broach stops and appear of a slightly earlier date than most of the medieval doors in the house. The building itself with its facing gable end supported on projecting kneelers also seems to be stylistically of an early date. That the two doors are side by side might be an example of service planning allowing for a one way system to operate and provide efficiency of access in and out of the kitchen range. It is possible, therefore, that the free-standing kitchen was connected to these doorways and, therefore, the rest of the house via a covered walkway.

This interpretation suggests that Fiennes had planned Knole around one principal courtyard with outlying service buildings. However, we can also consider an alternative

¹⁰⁶ Oxford Archaeology, *Gazetteer*, pp. 289-290

interpretation of Knole's layout in 1456. If, after all, we were to accept that the Kitchen has always existed in its present position, but also agree with the contention that a large kitchen block dominating a whole range of a principal courtyard is unlikely, then we might suggest, contrary to the interpretation that Water Court was the only planned courtyard, that Fiennes had intended Water Court to be only one part of a multi-courtyard house. As seems likely, Fiennes' intended building remained unfinished at the time of his death in 1450. Whilst we have, to this point, been working under the assumption that Bouchier's builders had relatively little to do to complete Fiennes' intentions it is also worth considering the possibility that Fiennes had planned a much larger house than has so far been credited. Perhaps, we might suggest, he had also envisaged his house to have a further outer courtyard and that Water Court was planned as an inner court, much as it exists today. It is possible that when Bouchier bought Knole in 1456 the proposed outer courtyard had not been started or was in a very early stage of construction. We can speculate that Fiennes' outer court may have projected to the east of Water Court (thus making the Still Room Passage gate an inner gatehouse). It is, therefore, of note that workmen at the beginning of the twentieth century are recorded as having dug up substantial footings in the gardens to the east of the house.¹⁰⁷ Alternatively we might suggest that an outer court had been intended to stand on the same or similar foundations as the Stone Court ranges. This interpretation might account for the two apparently external doorways in the Stone Court side of the north range cellars (L.24 L.26) (Fig.45). Both doors face into Stone Court and look as though they formerly gave access from the outside. However, the build up of the ground surface to the courtyard's present level (evidenced by the submerged plinth line at the east end of Black Boy Passage) means that these doors are now below ground level and thus functionless. The build up of levels occurred during the next phase (Phase 2 A.2) as Bouchier built his new ranges and gatehouse. It is possible however, that when Bouchier and his household stayed at Knole in March 1459 they found the shell of the first storey of proposed Stone Court ranges already built. When his workmen completed Stone Court in the 1460s, therefore, they may have been building on Fiennes'

¹⁰⁷ Phillips, Vol. 2, p.334; Phillips records being told by Lord Sackville's Steward that he had made extensive excavations "to the east of the house and between the outer wall with the eight gables and the wall of the building called 'the Old Laundry'". At a depth of about 21 feet he claimed to have found the footings of walls and an old doorway which, from the size of the flagstones and the shape of the door, he believed to be Norman. Phillips, however, remarked, "unfortunately we never saw them and the trenches were soon after filled in".

foundations but significantly altered the design of the ranges to account for a new raised ground level. Indeed, Patrick Faulkner commented on the house that he attributed to Bouchier that, “it is tempting, in view of the similarity of treatment, to suggest that Hurstmonceaux [sic.] and Knole had a common designer”.¹⁰⁸ Although this assertion is unsubstantiated, it does raise the possibility that the overall layout of the house owes more to Fiennes than has previously been acknowledged.

5) Summary

In short, then, there are four possible broad scenarios for the layout of the house of 1456 that Bouchier and his retinue first stayed at in March 1459. In all four layouts the Great Hall and the private apartments remain in the same place.

- 1) That the house was arranged around one principal courtyard (Water Court). The front entrance to the house was in the east in the centre of a fa ade flanked by corner towers. Ranges to the north of the courtyard contained rooms for guests (or rooms of a similar function), including a projecting north tower mirroring the original Duke’s Tower to the south. The kitchen was in a free-standing building in the area of Queen’s Court, accessed through the two adjacent doors that now form the main north entrance.
- 2) Sharing the same layout as scenario 1 but with a kitchen range at right angles to the Great Hall under the footings of the north range of Stone Court.
- 3) That the layout of the house was planned largely as it exists today with ranges around Stone Court and Water Court, but that the death of Sir James Fiennes in 1450 meant that the construction of the outer Stone Court had not been fully executed by the time of Bouchier’s purchase and first visit. Bouchier’s builders later completed the house on the footings that Fiennes had laid-out but with alterations to the final design.

¹⁰⁸ Faulkner, p. 140

4) That Fiennes had planned a house with an unrealised outer court to the east. The ranges around Water Court were similar to the extant ranges but the gateway in the position of Still Room Passage was intended as an inner gate and not as the front gate of the complex.

Phase 2 A.2 – Archbishop Bouchier: Extending and Rebuilding Knole, 1460-1468

1) Bouchier's Political Resurgence

Although habitable in 1459 Knole, it seems, proved too small for Bouchier's household as his political influence grew. Whereas during the late 1450s Margaret of Anjou's dislike for the archbishop had left him politically impotent, by 1460 the Yorkist cause was resurgent and Bouchier, although often thought of as a non-partisan, was quick to lend them his support. 1460 proved to be a turbulent year. In June the Yorkist earls returned to England from their exile in France. Bouchier met them at Sandwich and rode with their procession to London with his own cross borne before them. During the following weeks he tried to negotiate a peaceful settlement between the two parties, and in July it was Bouchier who accompanied York's army to Northampton to meet with the king. He failed, however, to prevent the ensuing battle in which his half-brother, Buckingham, died. In the aftermath York escorted Henry VI back to London and Bouchier, his brother Henry and their kinsmen the Nevilles were given control of the government. By the following February, however, York was dead, killed in battle at Wakefield, and Bouchier reluctantly agreed to see his son, Edward, on the throne. Although clearly uncomfortable about condoning the usurpation of Henry VI, Bouchier was, nonetheless, a loyal supporter of the new king, Edward IV. He was, therefore, immediately made a royal councillor, and with it came a new annual income of 200.¹⁰⁹

2) Knole and its Builders 1460-68

Against this background of political turmoil Bouchier found time to restart building works at Knole. The receivers accounts for the year 1460-61 detail apparently extensive works and payments totalling 111 3s. 4d.¹¹⁰ Whilst this may seem a relatively small sum of money compared with other contemporary building projects (at

¹⁰⁹ Clark, p. 825

¹¹⁰ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

Tattershall Castle, for example, the annual building expenses between 1434 and 1446 regularly came to nearer 450)¹¹¹, it is by far the largest annual account recorded at Knole between 1456 and 1538 and presumably, therefore, represents a comparatively large scale campaign of works. Bouchier himself can have played little direct part in the process given his close involvement in the political situation that was playing out nationally, his attentions, we must imagine, were largely elsewhere and Knole is probably more a reflection of the skills and oversight of his staff than of his own agency and influence as a patron. Indeed, it is perhaps to his auditor, who appears regularly in the accounts and seems to have overseen the work, or to his craftsmen, many of whom are named in the 1460-61 roll, that he owed the palace which would later become his favoured home. Their biographies reveal interesting links with other building projects on a local and national scale.

2a) *The Auditor: George Honton*

Bouchier's auditor was George Honton, (elsewhere recorded as Houton or Hooton). Initially employed in the role in 1460, he continued to fulfil the position until 1471 when failing health (he died in 1474) forced him to hand over to his clerk Humphrey Rotsey. His period of employment, therefore, covered almost precisely the years when major building works were happening at Knole. Honton had trained as a lawyer and was a gentleman of London; he was resident of the parish of St. Olave's, Silver Street and a member of the confraternity of St. Giles outside Cripplegate. Furthermore, he had had, before entering the archbishop's service, a distinguished administrative career, spending some time in the service of the Duchy of Lancaster.¹¹²

Throughout the 1460s the accounts record Honton's presence in Sevenoaks, Otford and at Knole. Indeed, at Knole he was provided with a chamber "*ad finem aule*" at the end of the hall, furnished with beds and wall hangings, suggesting that, despite ongoing building work, parts of the house remained habitable.¹¹³ Undoubtedly the main

¹¹¹ See W.D. Simpson (ed.), *The Building Accounts of Tattershall Castle: 1434-1472*, (Lincoln: 1960)

¹¹² F.R.H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury: An Essay on Medieval Society*, (London: 1966), pp. 274-275

¹¹³ TNA SC 6 1129 9

purpose of his visits was to audit of the accounts of the bailiwick.¹¹⁴ However, the account rolls record a further activity:

*“Et in regardo datio predicto computi suis labore et attendencia per ipsum huiusmodi in superintendi reperacio tam manerii de Otford quam manerii de knolle ex consideracione auditoris dominis”.*¹¹⁵

And paid in reward in the aforesaid accounts for his works and attendance in person for overseeing the repairs to the manor of Otford and of the manor of Knole by the consideration of the lord’s auditor.]

To what degree Honton actually had control over the works at Knole is unclear he may simply have ensured that control was exercised over the purse strings. It is conceivable, however, that he acted as Bouchier’s representative and made critical decisions about the direction of building works on the archbishop’s behalf. The evidence for a precedent for the auditor’s activities at Knole is limited. However, Honton might be compared to Thomas Wilson who, between 1607-12, oversaw Cecil’s work at Hatfield House. Wilson was Cecil’s secretary and as such was given financial control of the building works, a position that gave him responsibility for hiring workmen, signing contracts and paying bills. Crucially, however, he also made decisions regarding the design of the building.¹¹⁶ Although this all occurred more than a century after Honton’s work at Knole it is not impossible that the two men fulfilled a similar role.

2b) The Masons: Thomas Jurdan, Walter Kyng and Thomas Danyell

Perhaps, however, it is to the masons at Knole that we may credit the design of the house. Honton, although clearly overseeing the work, was not a constant presence on

¹¹⁴ Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 274

¹¹⁵ TNA SC 6 1130 1 See also LPL ED 1348

¹¹⁶ L. Stone, *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Oxford: 1973), p. 67

site. Instead he made occasional visits to Sevenoaks from his home in the London parish of St. Olave's, probably leaving the day-to-day decision making to the workmen at Knole.¹¹⁷ It has long been accepted that much of the agency of architectural design in the Middle Ages lay with the craftsmen, and Knole, a ragstone house, must surely have been laid out by the workmen who understood that material the best.¹¹⁸ In the account roll of 1460-61 there are two stonemasons listed and it is notable that, in a year when the recorded expenditure on building works was 111 3s. 4d., the two masons and their labourers were paid 46 19s. 3d., more than a third of the total recorded payments.¹¹⁹ They were named as Thomas Jurdan and Walter Kyng, and whilst Kyng is an anonymous figure whose biography is untraceable, Jurdan proves much more interesting, for he had a distinguished career.

Active between 1444 and his death in 1482, Jurdan first appears as a hardhewer being paid 6d. a day for building work at Eton College.¹²⁰ He stayed at Eton from October 1444 to August 1446 but after that date disappears from the records, and it is not possible to identify where he was working until he reappears employed by Archbishop Bouchier at Knole in 1460.¹²¹ His employment in the archiepiscopal works may have been short-lived, however, for in January 1461 he replaced Reginald Knyght as Chief Bridge Mason on London Bridge.¹²² Knoop and Jones, in their study of the bridge's masons, conceded that they could not trace Jurdan's whereabouts in the years immediately preceding his appointment at London Bridge but suggested that he had probably not been working there prior to January 1461, a conclusion that fits well with the evidence of his activity at Knole.¹²³ During his first year of employment at the

¹¹⁷ Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 274-275

¹¹⁸ L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540: A Documentary History*, (Oxford: 1952), p. 24 D. Parsons, 'Stone', in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, J. Blair N. Ramsey (eds.), (London: 1991), p. 1

¹¹⁹ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

¹²⁰ J. Harvey, 'Jurdan, Thomas [Jordan]', *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, Revised Edition (Gloucester: 1987), p. 165 Eton College Library, COLL BA 5 and COLL BA 6

¹²¹ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

¹²² D. Knoop & G.P. Jones, 'London Bridge and its Builders', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, XLVII (1934), p. 19.

¹²³ Knoop & Jones, 'London Bridge', p. 19. Knoop and Jones state, "The Account Book for 1445-1460 being missing, we cannot ascertain whether Jurdan had worked at the Bridge prior to his appointment as Chief Mason, but there was apparently a gap of nine weeks between the departure of Knyght, his predecessor, and his own arrival, whereas Beek succeeded Clifford within a fortnight in 1417 and

bridge he was paid 4s a week. In December 1461, however, this was reduced to 3s 4d. It is not clear why his wages were cut but it may be, as Knoop and Jones have suggested, that it corresponds to the date of his appointment to the important position of Mason of the King's Works.¹²⁴ He retained these dual posts until his death on or shortly after 20th April 1482 but the responsibilities arising from these appointments meant that he did not continue to work at Knole after his recorded activity there.¹²⁵

Apart from London Bridge, however, it is not clear where he did work subsequent to his departure from Knole. He must, as John Harvey notes, have been the principal architect for many of Edward IV's building projects, but insufficient evidence survives to be sure of his activities. He was certainly employed at Eltham Palace between 1475 and 1480 and may have designed and built the Great Hall there since an Exchequer account records a payment, "by the hand of Thomas Jurdan" for stone "*voc[at] ragge*" at Eltham.¹²⁶

Jurdan was succeeded as both Chief Bridge Mason and Mason of the King's Works by Thomas Danyell and it is possible that Danyell had also worked at Knole. From January 1461 he was recorded as being apprentice to Jurdan at London Bridge at a weekly rate of 2s 6d.¹²⁷ He is not recorded by name at Knole but if Jurdan was there immediately prior to moving to London Bridge then it must be likely that Thomas Danyell was too – we may assume therefore that Danyell was one of the 'other labourers' paid in the 1460 – 61 account roll.¹²⁸ We know from the evidence of surviving wills that a significant number of people with the family name Danyell lived in north Kent.¹²⁹ It is possible, therefore, that Jurdan's apprentice Danyell was from a Kentish family and had begun his employment as a mason in the archbishop's service at Knole.

Danyell, in due course, succeeded Jurdan within three weeks in 1482, which suggests to us that Jurdan was not in the employ of the Bridge when Knyght departed, but that he was sought out and introduced from outside, and brought his apprentice Danyell with him."

¹²⁴ Knoop & Jones, 'London Bridge', p. 18. The date of his appointment as Mason of the King's Works is not known. He was certainly there by 1464, however, when the Jurdan was recorded as, "Serjuant of our Masonrye within this our said Reawme of England" see *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones, et Placita in Parlamento*, Vol. V (London), p. 547. See also *Cal. Pat. Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III*, pp. 300, 409 – 484

¹²⁵ Harvey, 'Jurdan, Thomas', p. 165

¹²⁶ TNA E 101 517 23 (100)

¹²⁷ Knoop & Jones, 'London Bridge', p. 19

¹²⁸ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

¹²⁹ J. Fox, *The History of Sevenoaks up to 1650: Historical Researches with Extensive References to Wills and Other Documents, With database of West Kent Wills to 1650*, (Sevenoaks: 2002) on CD-ROM

Despite Jurdan's distinguished career and the relative ease by which we may trace his activities, it is to the workshop of the more obscure Walter Kyng that we should probably credit the majority of the masonry work at Knole. It is perhaps also to Kyng that we may attribute the design and layout of the house. Kyng's employment at Knole was evidently more prolonged for unlike Jurdan, Kyng was recorded again in the accounts, sharing a further 49 8s. 4 d. between himself and his team in 1462-63.¹³⁰ The accounts are of course too vague on this point to be certain but it seems possible that it was Kyng who was central to the building campaign at Knole, at least for the first few years of the 1460s.

2c) Local Labour at Knole

We do not know the birth-places or origins of Jurdan or Kyng, but it is clear that many of the other labourers working at Knole in the early years of the 1460s were local men. In the 1460-61 accounts the quarrymen Richard Deneman, Thomas Blakecher and Richard Blakecher are recorded as receiving 7 19s. 4d. for digging stone.¹³¹ Denemen then appears again in the accounts of 1462-63. On that occasion he was paid 10 15s. for both digging and preparing the stone.¹³² The Blakechers, however, were absent from the latter. Richard Deneman was probably a local quarryman. Later Chancery records dated from between 1533 and 1538 reveal that there was a William Denman living in the parish of Seal at that time, and it is possible that he was related to Richard.¹³³ Several wills for the Blakecher (or Blatcher) family dating between 1477 and 1563 also survive. They too are all recorded as being of Seal.¹³⁴ Much of the stone used at Knole may have come from quarries in the parish of Seal. It is a convenient distance from the house and runs along the eastern boundary of Knole park. Furthermore, it sits on top of a Greensand bed the type of Kentish Ragstone of which most of Knole is built.¹³⁵ Notably, the 1456 deeds of sale document recorded specifically "the Quarree of John

¹³⁰ TNA SC 6 1129 7

¹³¹ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

¹³² TNA SC 6 1129 7

¹³³ TNA C 1 872 19-23

¹³⁴ Fox, *Database of West Kent Wills to 1650*

¹³⁵ Clifton-Taylor, pp. 65-66

Cartiers in the p ar isshe of the Seall”.¹³⁶ This was clearly a well established quarry in an area of probably fairly extensive quarrying since, in 1442, John Carter was amongst several Kentish quarrymen contracted by William Lynde, clerk of the works at Eton College, to supply stone carved at the quarry “aftur the forme of certain moldes”.¹³⁷

For transport of these materials from the Seal quarries and presumably from other locations, Bouchier employed more local men, Thomas, Robert and William Olyver. All presumably members of the same family, they appear in the archbishop’s accounts at various times throughout the 1460s. The Olyvers were labourers, serving the archbishop in fairly menial roles. In the year 1460 to 1461, for example, both Thomas and William were paid, along with Thomas Motte, for transporting stone, lime and brick to the building site at Knole.¹³⁸ Their fee for this work was 10 9s this is a considerable amount for the carriage of goods. The high price presumably reflects either the distance they had to travel with their cargo or the amount of loads that were involved. In 1467 to 1468 Thomas Olyver was again employed to transport paling posts to places around the park at Otford.¹³⁹ William appears again during 1469 to 1470 when he was paid to make beds for the auditor’s chamber at Knole and Robert Olyver was employed in the same year to build a sheep fold.¹⁴⁰

The Olyvers were a local family. Like many of the labourers working at Knole and Otford they probably lived in or around the parish of Seal. Surviving wills provide evidence of Olyvers living in the area throughout the sixteenth century and it is likely that the family was already established there in the 1460s when Thomas, William and Robert were providing labour for the archbishop’s building works.¹⁴¹ Amongst the surviving wills is one written by a Thomas Olyver dated 1505. For William Olyver there are two possible wills dated 1516 or 1526.¹⁴² It may be that these were the Thomas and William that provided labour at Knole and Otford. If this is the case, then the dates of their death suggest that they were probably no older than about 20 years of age when

¹³⁶ CKS U1450 T4 17

¹³⁷ Eton College Library, COLL BA 2

¹³⁸ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

¹³⁹ TNA SC 6 1130 1

¹⁴⁰ LPL ED 1245 (f.12)

¹⁴¹ Jean Fox’s *Database of West Kent Wills to 1650* includes twenty-two wills dating between 1505 and 1643 for Olyvers living in Seal.

¹⁴² Fox, *Database of West Kent Wills to 1650*

they were employed by the archbishop and it is likely then that they were brothers or cousins rather than father and son. No will for Robert Olyver survives.

2d) The Glazier: John Fort

The employment of masons and quarrymen and the evident transport of stone to the building site at Knole in 1460 suggest that a major phase of rebuilding had begun. Indeed, as Du Boulay noted, the tone of the accounts changes significantly from those of 1455-56. Whereas in the 1450s the receiver's accounts referred to the "*reparacio*", and suggest, therefore, that Knole was to be repaired, by 1460 they began referring to work on the "*novum edificium*". Now, remarked Du Boulay, "operations have expanded on to an altogether bigger scale".¹⁴³

It was not, however, wholesale rebuilding. Bouchier did not demolish the old building and start again. We have already noted that much of the eastern part of the house, those ranges around Water Court, contain fabric from phases of works predating 1460. Whilst he extended the house he also altered and improved the ranges already standing. Indeed, amongst the craftsmen employed during 1460-61 were several who can only have been occupied in works to otherwise-completed buildings, the most interesting of whom was John Fort the glazier. The accounts reveal that he was paid 8 19s. 9½d. for, "*vitrandō fenestras cum sowdre & ab expens[is] nec[essar]ijs*" [glass windows, with solder and other necessary expenses]. Parts of the building must, therefore, have already been complete enough even at the beginning of the phase to require glazing.

Fort was a London glazier but his workshop appears to have supplied window glass to building projects nationally. After his death, sometime between 1475 and 1485, his widow, Agnes Fort, became embroiled in a legal dispute with Margaret Harberd, the widow of Sir Richard Harberd, a former client of the Forts' who had paid John Fort an advance for glazing work at a house in Wales.¹⁴⁴ Margaret, who had since remarried, complained that:

¹⁴³ Du Boulay, *A Note on the Rebuilding of Knole*, p. 136

¹⁴⁴ TNA C 1 64 88. This document is undated but the catalogue of the National Archives dates it tentatively to between 1475-1480 or 1483-1485.

“where in the life of seid Richard Harberd coven[e]nt was made by Indentures betwene the seid Richard and oon John Forte of London Glasyer that the seid John Forte shuld make glasse to a place of the seid Richard in Walys *Wales* for a c er teyn some of money agreed and appoynted betwene theym specified in the seid Indentures. Wherof a parte was payed and contentyd in hand as by the seid Indentures apperyth more atte large. It was so g ra ciouse lord that the seid coven a ntys were not p er fourmed but broken on the parte of the seid John Forte after the which the seid John Forte died and also the seid Richard Harberd Knyght disseaced after whos deth the seid Margaret his wyfe for that her seid husbond was putte to deth by the ryotours and wyll disposed p er sones ayenst oure souv er aygn liege lord the kyng”.¹⁴⁵

Given that Fort’s workshop was sending glass all around the country and as far afield as Wales, we might assume that his skills were in demand, and it is possible that he was producing high quality stained glass. Indeed, at Knole it is likely that the more standard glazing was made close by, for there is a tradition of glass making on the estate aided, perhaps, by the naturally sandy soil and the abundance of fuel.¹⁴⁶ It is known that a glassworks operated in the park at Knole in the 1580s and it has been suggested that it might have already been in existence in 1533 when a reference was made to ‘Glashowesland’.¹⁴⁷ In fact, as early as 1467-68 there are references under the Sevenoaks heading in the Receiver’s accounts to, “*una p[ar]cell t[er]ra iux[ta] Glasehouseland*” [a parcel of land next to Glasehouseland], suggesting that glass production had had a longer history on the Knole estate than has previously been assumed.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps, then we may speculate that Fort was commissioned to produce something more akin to the great scheme of figurative stained glass windows that

¹⁴⁵ TNA C 1 64 88

¹⁴⁶ G.H. Kenyon, *The Glass Industry of the Weald*, (Aylesbury: 1967), pp. 35-36

¹⁴⁷ D. Eve, ‘Reinterpreting the site of the Knole glassworks, Kent’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 32 (1998), pp. 139-142 G. Ward, *Sevenoaks Essays*, (London: 1931), p. 18

¹⁴⁸ TNA SC 6 1130 1

Bourchier's predecessor John Stafford had commissioned for the archiepiscopal palace at Croydon.¹⁴⁹

3) The Building Works 1460-68: Dating Evidence

The main thrust of the new phase of work that began in 1460 was a westward extension of the house (Fig.06). The Receiver's accounts for that year reveal renewed building work but like most of the archbishops' surviving building accounts they do not specifically name the parts of the house under construction.¹⁵⁰ However, it is clear from the extant structure that once the ranges surrounding Water Court had been completed, as indeed they seem to have been by 1459, the next phase of development must have seen the construction of Stone Court.

Notwithstanding the possibility discussed above that Fiennes' builders had conceived the layout of Stone Court, in 1460 the archbishop's workmen actually began to assemble the new ranges. Certainly, had Fiennes begun these structures they cannot have risen much above the level of their foundations since the fabric of the buildings suggests archiepiscopal authorship. This is most clearly seen in Bourchier's Tower (Fig.46), the large gatehouse which dominates the west range of the courtyard for it contains, in its first floor chamber (F.155), the heraldic devices of Archbishop Bourchier (from which the gatehouse takes its name). Here, on corbels originally supporting a much grander timber ceiling than the one that exists today, the archbishop displayed the heraldic and religious badges with which he identified himself. On the south wall of the chamber the corbel carries a shield bearing the Bourchier knot, the symbol widely used by his family, surrounding the word 'Mercy' in fine gothic script and with the initial 'M' formed by two intertwined dragons (Figs.47a & b). On the north wall the corbel is identical but the shield is carved with a six-pointed star surrounding the letters, 'ihs'. The surviving fragments of *in situ* stained glass in the oriel window (see pp. 202-204) also display Bourchier's heraldic emblems (Fig.99). This glass is perhaps the work of the glazier John Fort. With these devices Bourchier announced that

¹⁴⁹ K. Heard, 'A Glazing Scheme for Archbishop John Stafford', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60:4 (2009), p. 679

¹⁵⁰ LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

it was he who had built this architecturally imposing gatehouse and we may take it as evidence too that the ranges around Stone Court were also the work of the archbishop and not of Fiennes since the building of the ranges surrounding Stone Court was seemingly the product of one coherent phase of construction.

The Receiver of Otford's accounts suggest a date bracket of 1460-68 for this new period of building. Although the series of records is incomplete and the details contained within the documents are limited, most of the annual account rolls during this period provide a reference to some level of building work.¹⁵¹ Certainly for the first few years of the decade there is a noticeable continuity in the names of the workmen employed at Knole. In the accounts of 1460-61 the names Walter Kynge, William Carpenter and Richard Deneman all appear.¹⁵² These are subsequently repeated in the accounts of 1462-63 revealing that there was, at that time, a prolonged and continuous period of building during which the same core workforce was retained.¹⁵³ In addition, these two rolls of accounts recorded the two highest annual expenditures on construction work at the house. Those of 1460-61 list payments totalling 111 3s. 4d. whilst those of 1462-63 total 104 15s. 1d. The account for the intervening year, 1461-62, however, does not survive. The implication, therefore, based both on the relatively high level of payments and on the continuity of the workforce is that the most concerted period of construction lay in the first three years of that decade. For the remaining years of the 1460s it is likely that a smaller workforce continued to complete the building and make alterations around the complex. However, in 1466-67 the labourers Thomas Bone and Thomas Motte were still transporting cartloads of, "*lapid[us] voc[at] Ragge p[ro] edificis man[er]ij de Knoll*" stone called Ragge for the building of the manor of Knole.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, it was in 1467-68 that George Honton the auditor was paid for overseeing the works at the house so the implication must be that construction was

¹⁵¹ The chronological series is missing accounts for the years 1461-62, 1463-64 and 1465-66. The surviving accounts are as follows, but it should be noted that, whilst most contain references to building, not all do. It should also be noted that some of the accounts are duplicated and copies of the same document survive at both The National Archives and Lambeth Palace Library. 1460-61 – LPL ED 1243 1462-63 – TNA SC 6 1129 7 1464-65 – TNA SC 6 1129 8 1466-67 – TNA SC 6 1129 9 1466-67 – LPL ED 543 1467-68 – TNA SC 6 1130 1 1467-68 – LPL ED 1348.

¹⁵² LPL ED 1243 (f.10)

¹⁵³ TNA SC 6 1129 7

¹⁵⁴ TNA SC 6 1129 9

ongoing. By 1468, however, building work was complete for the accounts of that year and the few succeeding it include no mentions of building works.¹⁵⁵

In short we can hypothesise that between 1460 and 1468 Knole witnessed an intensive period of building. Of those years of activity the most productive were the early years of the decade during a short period from 1460 to 1463. Tracing Archbishop Bourchier's own movements at this time through the documents in his register we also see an interesting and corresponding pattern (Fig.09a). Bourchier's first stay at Knole was, as we have seen, in early March 1459.¹⁵⁶ In the following four years, 1460, 1461, 1462 and 1463 he stayed away, presumably because the new building work rendered the house largely uninhabitable. His register, however, witnesses stays at Otford at several times in 1461 and 1462 suggesting that he kept an eye on the progress of the project on occasions riding up the hill from his nearby house to inspect the work.¹⁵⁷ By the summer of 1464 the intensity of activity had subsided and Knole was now habitable, for in July of that year he was again at the house.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, in 1464 Bourchier made several prolonged visits to Knole and continued to return to the house on regular visits throughout the remaining years of the decade.¹⁵⁹

4) The 1460s House

The phase of building works between 1460 and 1468 saw the most intense and arguably the most important construction witnessed at Knole. It created the core of the house that still survives today, and over the following sections we will attempt to reconstruct and analyse the scope and development of the house that was standing by 1468.

¹⁵⁵ LPL ED 1244 LPL ED 1245 TNA SC 6 1130 3 LPL ED 285

¹⁵⁶ LPL Reg. Bourchier f.76r (see also n.85) Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourchier*, p. 253

¹⁵⁷ Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourchier*, pp. 262, 265 268

¹⁵⁸ Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourchier*, p. 274

¹⁵⁹ Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourchier*, pp. 274-275

4a) Stone Court North Range

The most significant new work undoubtedly occurred in Stone Court. To the north of Stone Court the archbishop's builders had raised a block containing suites of apartments. Of all the ranges surviving from this early period of building it is arguably the form and layout of these suites of apartments that remain most easily distinguishable in the extant fabric. In appearance from inside Stone Court the block is of two storeys, but because of the fall in ground level to the north it contains, in fact, three floors. At the bottom is a cellar (L.24 – L.26) decorated on its south and east walls with paintings, some of which display Bouchier's coats-of-arms (Figs.90-95). Whilst these will be dealt with in detail in a subsequent chapter (see pp.199-202) it is pertinent to point out here that they must date from between 1467, at the earliest, and the archbishop's death in 1486, therefore confirming that the range was certainly built during Bouchier's lifetime. The moulded timber ceiling of the cellar can also be dated to the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁰

On the two floors above were suites of apartments that provided lodgings, either for the senior officers of Bouchier's household or for the archbishop's guests. The layout of four of these rooms, two on each floor, may still be seen in the surviving fabric. At the top of the range the roof is supported by carved trusses dated to the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁶¹ Arch-braces support a cranked collar and curved queen-struts and the principal timbers are all decorated with a moulded profile (Fig.49) suggesting that the rooms directly below were originally open to the roof. The position of the trusses and the arrangement of the moulded faces enable a reconstruction of the layout of the rooms below.¹⁶² The roof structure terminates at its westernmost extent at the partition wall between rooms G.61 and G.64 which continues up through both storeys and is probably of contemporary date. From this point it stretches east until it meets the east stone wall of G.78, the point at which the north range adjoins the earlier Great Hall range. The roof covered four lodging rooms, two on each floor, with a narrower service

¹⁶⁰ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 21

¹⁶¹ The name of the carpenter at Knole has not been recorded specifically, but it was perhaps the William Carpenter who was mentioned in both the 1460-61 and the 1462-63 accounts. (LPL ED 1243 (f.10) TNA SC 6 1129 7) Whilst his profession is not given in these documents his surname suggests his occupation and the relatively large payments of 23 9s. 7d and 27 15s. 11d. respectively made to him and his workshop indicates that he was an important member of the workforce. We might speculate, then, that it is to him that the roof of the range might be credited.

¹⁶² Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, pp. 25 – 26

bay in-between (Fig.50). Each had a private garderobe in towers projecting into Queen's Court to the north and each also had a fireplace in its north wall.

To the west the roof structure does not bear the distinctive moulding profile and apparently represents a later phase of alteration.¹⁶³ As a result it is difficult to define the early layout of the rooms on the north-west corner of Stone Court and to be sure of their function. The rooms at the west end of the range (on the ground floor, G.61 and above, F.61 and F.69) also have garderobe towers leading off of their north-west corners and on the first floor, in the room known today as Jane's Room (F.69), there is a fire place in the north wall. These features suggest that these spaces were further suites of apartments like those immediately to their east. At present, however, the rooms return south along the Bouchier Tower range, but the brick chimney stack that terminates the rooms in this direction and provides the partition between G.61 and G.69 on the ground floor and F.61 and F.62 on the first floor is a later insertion. It is not possible, therefore, to comment further on the original partitioning of this part of the range.

4b) Stone Court South Range

One of the defining features of Bouchier's building works seems to be the moulding profiles of the jambs of the principal stone doorways. There are two patterns associated with Bouchier's work. The first (Type 1) consist of a hollow-chamfer and and ogee curve (Fig.10). These can be seen in the first floor rooms of Bouchier's Tower, providing clear evidence of their association with Bouchier's building phases. They also appear, however, in the Great Hall on the Buttery and Pantry doors (G.94 G.95) and on the main access from the Old Kitchen Lobby (G.98). Furthermore, it is also this distinctive moulding profile that is used for the mullions and transoms of the Bouchier Tower oriel (Fig.48). The second (Type 2) has a hollow-chamfer and a deep roll mould in its profile. They may be seen on both the east and west doors of the Great Hall (leading to the Great Stairs (G.123) and the Lead Stairs) and at the entrance to the Chapel (M.03) (Figs.52 & 54). Interestingly, the jambs of the fireplace in Bouchier's Room (F.155) also display this Type 2 moulding profile (Fig.75) again allowing the association with Bouchier to be made. Whilst they evidently do not all share identical moulding profile, their treatment is similar, all showing hollow-chamfers, and the finish

¹⁶³ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 26

detailing is consistent, particularly the use of drafted margins around each individual stone block (Fig.53). This unusual detailing also appears in the masonry of the Bouchier Room oriel (F.155) and in the vault of the Chapel undercroft (L.50 and L.51). We may assume, therefore, that doorways displaying either Type 1 or Type 2 moulding profiles together with the drafted margination are all products of Bouchier's building phases of the 1460s.

Most importantly, therefore, several corresponding doorways with similar hollow-chamfer and roll or ogee moulded profiles and drafted margins remain in the south range of Stone Court. On the ground floor there are two one of Type 1 at either end of the Colonnade Room (G.148) (Fig.56). On the floor above the connecting door between the Stone Lobby Stair (F.139) and the Reynolds Room (F.140) is of Type 2 (Fig.55). This range has undergone significant alterations during later centuries, and the remodelling commissioned by Thomas Sackville at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in particular, removed much of the evidence of its fifteenth century form and function. However, it is clear that the south range did not mirror the north range in its layout. In the south range the stone doorways at either end of the Colonnade Room (G.148) and in the east wall of the Reynolds Room (F.140) do not correspond to the position of doors in the north range. Whatever the function of the south range, therefore, we can say that it was not laid-out in the same way as the north range. This implies that the two ranges fulfilled different functions and, whilst we can be certain that the north range was set aside for accommodation, we must consider alternative uses for the rooms in the south range.

On the ground floor of the south range the two Bouchier Type 1 doorways are directly opposite each other facing inwards at either end of the Colonnade Room (Fig.56). They suggest that the dimensions of the room, or certainly at least the east to west length of the space, were fixed during this archiepiscopal building stage, long before the Sackville interventions. It seems, then, that this has always been one long room since it is unlikely to have been partitioned between the two corresponding doorways. Perhaps as now the room faced onto the garden and served a similar function to the present colonnade (Fig.57). Although nothing is known of the early gardens at Knole, it seems likely that they occupied the same position to the south of the house, and we know from Margery Kempe's recollection of her meeting with an earlier archbishop in his garden at Lambeth Palace that outside spaces had a functional

relationship with the house (in Margery Kempe's case being used as a place in which to meet with the archbishop).¹⁶⁴ For that reason we might speculate that it also had a direct physical relationship facilitated by a 'garden room' of sorts and that, before the addition of the extant classical colonnade by Thomas Sackville in 1606-07, Bouchier had built a similar, although certainly gothic, arcaded structure on the same footings to allow communication between the two spaces.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, Bouchier's successor Cranmer added arcaded walkways around the gardens at Lambeth, including one on the ground floor of the north front of the house, below his new long gallery.¹⁶⁶ The galleries at Lambeth followed a model established at Richmond Palace, itself borrowing from a Burgundian tradition, which had open loggias at ground-floor level communicating with the gardens. A similar structure at Knole, built in the 1460s would have been ahead of its time since it would have pre-dated the additions at Richmond, built by Henry VII and said to be the earliest of their kind in England.¹⁶⁷ Whether it deliberately quoted continental architecture as Henry's did at Richmond is uncertain. More likely it developed from the cloister form, initially restricted to monastic buildings but by the mid-fifteenth century appearing in domestic architecture as at Herstmonceux (Fig. 19). At Knole, however, the innovation was to make the arcade outward-looking rather than enclosing a courtyard. These considerations aside, if Knole was built, as we might suspect, with an arcaded ground-floor walkway providing direct access to the garden then it must rank as an early and significant example of an architectural form that found more widespread fashion in England during later centuries.

On the floor above the medieval layout is more difficult to interpret. The one surviving stone door between the Reynolds Room (F.140) and the Stone Lobby Stair (F.139) is directly above the easternmost door of the Colonnade Room and is similarly aligned with its outside moulded face towards the west (Fig. 55). It is unlikely, however, that the first floor exactly mirrored the room below, for there is no evidence that the ragstone west wall of the Colonnade ever rose through the space now occupied by the Cartoon Gallery (F.141). For that reason, and on the assumption that the mouldings of

¹⁶⁴ W. Butler-Bowden (ed.), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, (London: 1936), p. 64

¹⁶⁵ For Thomas Sackville's additions see E. Town, *A House 'Re-Edified' – Thomas Sackville and the Transformation of Knole 1605-1608*, (Unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Sussex: 2010)

¹⁶⁶ T. Tatton-Brown, *Lambeth Palace: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and their Houses*, (London: 2000), pp. 62 – 64

¹⁶⁷ Thurley, *The Royal Palaces*, p. 31

medieval doorways are more usually on the outside of the room into which the door leads, the position of the door suggests a room of some status to its east, since altered by the insertion of the staircase. It is unclear, however, how this might relate to the space now known as the Ballroom (F.138).

4c) The Archbishop's Staterooms

The position of Bouchier's staterooms and private apartments is difficult to pin down with any certainty, but the possible locations may be discussed here for they have some bearing on the layout of Stone Court's south range. Traditionally Bouchier's apartments are said to have been located around the Pheasant Court. Certainly, this was the most likely position of the private apartments that pre-dated the archbishop's works of the 1460s (see pp. 29-39) and those developed by succeeding generations of owners (pp. 103-110), but for Bouchier himself the picture is more complicated. The rooms around Pheasant Court undoubtedly show the signs of Bouchier's work and indeed the first floor chamber of Duke's Tower (F. 137) formerly contained a fireplace bearing the archbishop's heraldic symbols and the motto '*Benedictus Deus*' (Fig.11).¹⁶⁸ These rooms adjoin Bouchier's Chapel and must, therefore, have been in regular use by the archbishop, for the Organ Room (F.127 and F.125 – a later partition wall has divided what was originally one room) contained an opening in its south wall forming a private viewing gallery or pew from which Bouchier or his household could view the services in the Chapel (Fig.58).¹⁶⁹

This has given rise to the traditional interpretation that Bouchier constructed the suite of state and private apartments on a layout similar to that visible today. In this pattern, therefore, the present Ballroom (F.138) might have served as the Great Chamber and the Pheasant Court Room (F.133) and the Duke's Tower (F.137) as the Privy Chambers. It is a convenient pattern and is certainly how the house was arranged by the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁰ Recent archaeological surveys have revealed, however,

¹⁶⁸ Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, p. 7 The fireplace has since been removed and is in store at Knole.

¹⁶⁹ The present private pew at the west end of the Chapel does not represent the position of an original medieval private pew. The pew is built across the window of the Chapel's south wall and therefore sits uncomfortably in the space. The viewing window from the Organ Room appears to be the only place from which the archbishop could see into his Chapel at first floor level.

¹⁷⁰ Town, *A House 'Re-Edified'*

that a conclusion about the early layout and function of these ranges cannot be easily achieved. We do know something of their form. The present Pheasant Court Building is a product of a later phase since evidence points to it having been built by Archbishop Warham (see pp.103-110) but, as we have already seen, during Bouchier's tenure a timber building probably stood on similar footings. Beyond that was the predecessor to the extant Duke's Tower, the remodelling of which may have happened in 1467 towards the end of the phase of building works that we are currently considering.¹⁷¹ Yet, it is the development of the block containing the Poet's Parlour (G.146) and the Ballroom (F.138) that must be understood in order to reach an interpretation of the Bouchier period state rooms. However, the archaeological survey has remained inconclusive about this range. It is clear that the eastern wall of the range post-dates the present Pheasant Court Building, which itself post-dates Bouchier, for it is built against and not bonded to the masonry wall of the Pheasant Court Building and also truncates its east-west dimension by about 700mm.¹⁷² Furthermore, the east side of the Poet's Parlour and Ballroom was formerly a wall of glass windows (Fig.59), but the glazing bars of the now-blocked windows reveal an ovolo moulding profile which cannot be earlier than the sixteenth century. What the survey could not conclude, however, is whether this complex phasing represents the eastward extension of a pre-existing building or the construction of a new range on a previously vacant site. The survey suggested that the Pheasant Court Building may have once been free-standing on its west side but the loss of that side of the block caused by the building or rebuilding of the Ballroom range has destroyed any evidence for this hypothesis.¹⁷³ In fact it seems more likely that there was a pre-existing building on the site. The medieval door in the Reynolds Room (Fig.55) suggests that ranges existed to its east. Investigation of the east wall of the Great Hall from the cupboard on the first floor landing of the Great Stair (F.108) reveals a scarcement ledge apparently contemporary with the wall structure at a level lower than the present floor, suggesting that a block of at least two storeys has always abutted the east side of the Hall. It must also pre-date the Brown Gallery (F.110) (Fig.60) which, as we will see later is probably a product of Bouchier's successor, William Warham, and

¹⁷¹ A fragmentary works account surviving in Lambeth Palace Library (given a catalogue date of 1467) records payments for the carriage of stone for building a new tower at Knole. It has been suggested by Phillips and others that the new tower referred to by this document is the rebuilt Duke's Tower. LPL ED 543-1 Phillips, p. 334 Faulkner, p. 144

¹⁷² Dixon, p. 21

¹⁷³ Dixon, p. 21

dates to the same phase as the remodelling of the Pheasant Court Building (see pp. 103-110). What is not clear, however, is the layout of rooms within this block more specifically whether it has always been comprised of a single large chamber. It is also unclear if, in its earliest form, it connected with and accessed the Pheasant Court Building. Subsequent developments have left these questions all but unanswerable in any definitive sense.

At the very least, however, we might suggest that the position of the Ballroom and the possibility that it originally functioned as Bouchier's Great Chamber are consistent with typical medieval domestic planning. A similar arrangement of the Great Chamber to one side of the high end of the hall may also be seen at Lambeth Palace, for example. However, given the complications over the phasing of these ranges we are also at liberty to consider an alternative interpretation of the layout of state rooms as devised by Bouchier's builders during the 1460s. This hypothesis relies on understanding the function of the suite of chambers adjoining Bouchier's Room (F.155) on the first floor of the Bouchier Tower gatehouse in the west range of Stone Court. The suite consists principally of the Bouchier Room itself which, although since partitioned, originally spanned the width of the range. It was lit by the large oriel window on its west side, which was formerly filled with colourful stained glass (only a fragment of which still survives), and a smaller four light window on the east side of the chamber.¹⁷⁴ It is in this room that we find Bouchier's heraldic corbels and, in addition, a fireplace of fifteenth-century type showing the same drafted margins that may also be seen on the stonework of the doors and the oriel. The room is accessed through one of two large stone doorways – which still retain their original fifteenth century timber doors (Fig.62) – standing opposite each other on the east side of the range which open from the corridor that encircles three sides of Stone Court. The floor level of the room is significantly higher than those of the adjoining ranges and so is accessed by a flight of steps leading up from the corridors to each of the two entrance doors. The second room in the suite is to the north and is accessed only by first passing through the Bouchier Room. Now called the Rosalba Room (F.64) it is lit by one west facing window and is larger in size than its neighbour. It too has a fireplace, although the medieval one has been replaced by a later insertion, and it has a garderobe (F.63) in its north-west corner. To the south

¹⁷⁴ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 19; Oxford Archaeology's survey revealed that this window is *in situ* since the exterior stone work shows no signs of disturbance.

of the Bouchier Room we might also consider the Diana Room (F.151) as part of this suite. Although it does not connect directly with the principal two chambers, its original doorway – now blocked – was at the foot of the stairs leading to the south door of the Bouchier Room.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, it was also furnished with a fireplace and a garderobe (F.150).

John Bridgman, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, described the principal two rooms of the suite as being:

“Formerly used for the Archbishop’s private devotions: one of them [the Bouchier Room] is worthy of note, having the form and character of a private chapel. The window is of a superior description to that of any other in the building it is situated over the entrance, looking into the first court. The approach to the window is by two or three steps, and only wants the necessary ornaments to give it the appearance of an altar”.¹⁷⁶

Bridgman’s interpretation of the room as a private chapel must be considered unlikely – although it is one that has entered Knole’s oral history and is still, from time to time, repeated – since despite his assertions it does not have the form or character of a private chapel being instead the first of a suite of rooms furnished for a domestic function. The relationship between the Bouchier Room and the Rosalba Room and the provision of a garderobe in the latter suggest that this is more likely to have been a suite of accommodation – an outer chamber with a privy chamber or bedroom beyond. Given the scale of the rooms, the details of their furnishings (particularly the heraldic corbels and the stained glass window), and the grand, almost ceremonial nature of the two opposing entrances, it might not be too fanciful to suggest that these were Archbishop Bouchier’s own apartments. In this arrangement the Diana Room (F.151) to the south might have functioned as an antechamber or guardroom to the principal rooms of the suite.

¹⁷⁵ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 20

¹⁷⁶ Bridgman, pp. 145-146

This does not, however, fit easily into a pattern of English domestic planning. Specifically, it is difficult to find other examples of courtyard houses of Knole's type and age that have this sort of principal domestic chamber above the outer gate. The arrangement is not, however, entirely without precedent. In Oxford, for example, many of the medieval colleges, with which Bouchier as a former student and chancellor of the university must have been familiar, located the Warden's chambers above a gateway. Amongst the colleges, All Souls', Merton and New College all conform to this pattern and, whilst the reason for this deliberate form of layout is not immediately apparent, they can perhaps be seen as a blueprint for Bouchier's work at Knole.¹⁷⁷

If, therefore, we accept the hypothesis that the archbishop's own apartments could have been in these rooms above the gate we might also suggest that Stone Court's south range contained a progression of state apartments and withdrawing chambers arranged on a hierarchical system typical of medieval great houses. We can, of course, only speculate for all traces of original partitions disappeared with the creation of the Cartoon Gallery in 1604-08 (F.141). Surveys undertaken at Knole during the late 1970s, however, revealed that the timber framed north wall of the gallery where it adjoins Tapestry Passage (F.143) contains the remains of two medieval timber doorways. The westernmost of these is directly opposite the passage leading to Bouchier's Room and the one to the east is said to be about two thirds of the way down the void.¹⁷⁸ These openings are blocked and plastered over in Tapestry Passage and the void, formerly accessed from the Cartoon Gallery, has since been sealed. However, a photograph of the eastern door taken during that survey gives an impression of its appearance (Fig.63). The significance of these doorways is twofold. First they suggest that the range was partitioned into two or more rooms and second that a corridor ran along the north side of the range where we now find the Tapestry Passage.

In fact, the corridor ran around the north, south and west sides of Stone Court, interrupted only where it met Bouchier's Room. It was probably on the same scale and footings as the passages that still encircle the courtyard, but the fabric of these has been shown to be seventeenth century.¹⁷⁹ It is likely that they replaced earlier timber framed

¹⁷⁷ RCHME, *An Inventory of the Monuments in the City of Oxford*, (London: 1939), pp. 15-19 76-91

¹⁷⁸ S. Goodhew D. Hunter, *Plunket Memorial Scholarship: Report on a Survey of the Building History of Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent*, (Unpublished report: 1980), p. 10

¹⁷⁹ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 57

galleries which were, perhaps, similar in appearance to that which still survives at Tretower Court in Wales (Fig.24). Like those at Tretower they were probably open on their outside faces, for the timber framed connecting wall on both the north and south sides of the courtyard shows signs of having been infilled with brick nogging suggesting it was originally external. It is not clear, however, whether the gallery may have been jettied, as it is at Tretower, or supported by posts at ground floor level thus providing the courtyard with a cloistered appearance similar to the cloisters at Eton College or Lambeth Palace. At both these places a ground floor cloister has an open corridor gallery above. To the north the gallery gave access to the individual apartment chambers and was reached by the newel stairs (G.74 F.67) on the east side of the Bouchier Tower and by a blocked door that led through to the Great Hall range (the back of the door is still visible in room F.82 – Fig.64). On the south side of the courtyard the corridor's function is perhaps more significant. If we accept that the rooms beyond it formed part of the suite of state rooms then we may compare its layout with John Goodall's observations on the plan of Herstmonceux, a building which, as we have seen, was said by Faulkner to resemble Knole in its plan.¹⁸⁰ Goodall remarked that the details of the fifteenth century withdrawing chambers at Herstmonceux are unknown but added that:

“One feature of their arrangement, however, does merit particular comment. Typically, medieval withdrawing chambers were marshalled into suites with one interior opening off another in hierarchical sequence of importance. But at Herstmonceux this sequential relationship is complemented by a system of internal galleries. These permitted passage from one room to another without the necessity of passing through the intermediary chambers - a feature of domestic planning sometimes represented as a Tudor invention. It is also paralleled in several other buildings of this period, notably the timber and brick manor house of the 1440s at Ockwells, Berkshire, and the Eton

¹⁸⁰ Faulkner, p. 140

quadrangle, whose designs were informed by Sheen and the fourteenth century design of Edward III's palace at Windsor Castle".¹⁸¹

Certainly if we take the traditional view that Knole's state rooms were arranged around Pheasant Court, as they are today, then the house may be seen in terms of what Goodall describes as a typically medieval plan of withdrawing chambers, "marshalled into suites". If, however, it was the case that these principal chambers were located to the south of Stone Court and were able to be bypassed by the open first floor gallery then Knole becomes one of a small group of pioneering mid-fifteenth century buildings that were changing the conventional layout of the late medieval great house.

4d) The Staircase

In relation to the question of the locations of the Privy and State Chambers we must take into account the likely location of a principal staircase. Again this must, by necessity, be based on precedent rather than evidence since it is unclear where the staircase that must have once connected the Great Hall to the state apartments stood before the creation of the Great Stairs (G.123) by Sackville in the early seventeenth century. However, it is worth remarking that, on the basis of the interpretations of the apartments already forwarded, there are two possible sites. In the first instance we must consider that the seventeenth-century Great Stairs to the east of the Hall, which is accessed through the Bouchier-type door (Fig.52a) located just off centre in the Hall's east wall, was preceded by an earlier staircase. This would be consistent with the interpretation that the Great Chamber was on the site of the Ballroom and could thus be reached most easily by stairs in this position. In the second instance the original stairs might be seen as being positioned behind the other Bouchier-type door (Fig.52b) on the west side of the Great Hall dais. This is now the site of the Lead Stairs and could have given easy access to a suite of rooms arranged along the south of Stone Court. Again it is important to reiterate that in both cases there is no evidence. Furthermore, it must also be remarked that the first floor could conceivably have been served by two separate flights of stairs, one in each location.

¹⁸¹ J.A.A. Goodall, 'A medieval masterpiece: Herstmonceux Castle, Sussex', *Burlington Magazine*, 1217 (2004), p. 524

However, we should also consider the possible precedents for these. Penshurst (Fig.20) is a near neighbour of Knole and a property that Bouchier was certainly familiar with having visited on several occasions.¹⁸² There the great hall is earlier than Knole's and the main staircase is reached through a doorway leading from hall's high-end dais. This must be considered the most typical model of medieval planning the access to the most important chambers is hierarchically defined by a position at the top of the hall. We see a similar arrangement in the archbishop's house at Mayfield in Sussex, at Ightham Mote in Kent (Fig.21) and at Dartington Hall in Devon.¹⁸³ However, it appears that by the fifteenth century the strictures of this sort of standardised layout did not have to hold. Indeed, we have already suggested that Knole might be interpreted as pioneering in some aspects of its plan and it is not impossible, therefore, to imagine a staircase in the position of the extant Great Stairs a position that might formerly have been considered the invention of a later building style. Again, Herstmonceux may be considered a suitable comparison. Whilst later developments have also rendered the original location of its staircase unclear it is likely that it stood to one side of the hall, although access to it may still have been from a door in the dais-end wall of the hall.¹⁸⁴ And this perhaps is the key point. Whilst the position of the staircase itself was not necessarily fixed, the convention seems to suggest that the location of the door providing access to the staircase was consistently at the high-end of the hall. At Knole this pattern fits more closely with the door in the west wall than it does with that in the east. Furthermore, whilst the east door seems to provide at least one other function within a hierarchical pattern – to allow passage through the house towards Chapel – the door to the west cannot be furnished with any other clear explanation. Perhaps it is unwise to always suppose that extant features require investing with specific functionality. However, given the prominence of this doorway, its position at the high end of the hall on the dais and the statement made by its architecture, we may submit that in this instance such an investment is justified. Within the terms of medieval hierarchical planning this is a door that very definitely leads out of the hall and is not an entrance into it since its moulded profile faces into the room. If it did not, however, give access to a staircase then it is unclear what its purpose was since otherwise it can only

¹⁸² Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report on the manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley at Penshurst Place*, Vol. 1, (London: 1925), p. 235

¹⁸³ Emery, Vol. III, pp. 375, 359 – 536

¹⁸⁴ Emery, Vol. III, p. 351

have led to the corridor or arcade that encircled Stone Court. Although access could certainly be gained to the Bouchier Tower suites via the newel stair at its far end (G.160) and also, we might assume, to a predecessor of the Colonnade Room (G.148) and the chambers adjoining it, this seems to be an uncomfortable interpretation. Whilst the Hall's east door is neatly aligned with the central axis of the Chapel corridor, the door to the west does not align at all with the central axis of the corridor with which it is now associated. This anomaly, although inconclusive, does suggest that the medieval plan for this area of the house was different from that which exists today. For that reason, therefore, it seems probable that the present Lead Stair was preceded by a medieval staircase.

4e) The Gatehouse

By creating the ranges enclosing Stone Court the archbishop's builders had caused a fundamental change in the layout of the house. In its original plan Knole had been entered from the east, the visitor passing through the Still Room Passage gatehouse and into Water Court. However, as a result of the new building works during the 1460s Water Court became a more secluded inner courtyard and Stone Court became the outer courtyard, the first in the house that the visitor would enter. Knole now faced west, its great imposing new entrance front forming the architectural statement the archbishop required for his house. The towering mass of Bouchier's Tower, through which the entrance gate led, articulated to the viewer that this was no longer the great house of a disgraced courtier but the palace of England's most powerful statesman. To the east Fiennes' entrance front had presented to the world a façade perhaps no grander than that of nearby Ightham Mote (Fig.21) a modest gatehouse flanked by conservatively fenestrated curtain walls. From the west however, Bouchier's house now spoke in terms of wealth, power, and style.

Surprising perhaps to modern eyes but not to those of a medieval viewer Knole, the house of a churchman, was designed to present a face covered with the images of military defensiveness. The top of the building is battlemented, there are machicolations that project from the front of the gatehouse and the ribs of the vault below the arch have what appear to be murder-holes built into them. None of these features, however, actually make the house more defensible. The machicolations are rendered useless by

the projecting oriel window and the murder-holes have no functional openings in the room above. Furthermore, we may be clear that these are not the remnants of trick features designed to scare the viewer into thinking that the house was defended since the oriel and machicolations were built at the same time and their uncomfortable juxtaposed relationship is a design feature rather than evidence of changing function.¹⁸⁵ Below the gate the vault with its threatening holes was by the time of its construction in the 1460s stylistically outmoded. The stone-ribbed tierceron star vaulting is typically associated with the earlier Decorated Period and was an apparently conscious copy of the vault below the College Gate next to the archbishop's palace at Maidstone dated 1395-98. Both these and the machicolations, therefore, are interesting design features intended to invest the building with a false sense of age and adaptation. The sham martial formidability of the gatehouse, the symmetry of its form and the spectacle of its glazing all presented a calculated message. As a gatehouse was the first a visitor would see of the house it presented the opportunity to display symbolic images that would introduce the household beyond the gate.¹⁸⁶

We have already seen, of course, that alongside his archiepiscopal office Bouchier was also a great statesman and an aristocrat from one of England's most powerful families. The positions that he held in government placed him amidst the turmoil that engulfed the country during the second half of the fifteenth century. As Knole was being built power struggles at court erupted into civil war, but it is clear that the house and its gatehouse were not a direct response to armed conflict besides, the extended series of upheavals known as the Wars of the Roses were not characterised by the siege and capture of great houses and castles. Bouchier, however, faced threats of another sort and for much of his career he sailed rough political seas and Knole became a retreat from those stresses. When the pressures of court became too much it was to Knole that he retired, as he did during the decisive months of 1483 when Richard III ascended to the throne.¹⁸⁷ For Bouchier, Knole was a place of stability and it is arguably this that is represented in the imagery of the gate. Tellingly, amongst the military symbolism we find angels holding shields that probably once carried his coats-of-arms (Fig.65). The combined effect spoke of his nobility and his lordship it

¹⁸⁵ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 18

¹⁸⁶ C. Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, CXXXII (1979), p. 78

¹⁸⁷ Clark, p. 826

represented the strength of his family lineage and the traditions of chivalric heritage and by the fine oriel window projecting through the machicolations to subvert their function it made claims to his civility and his learning. If at court Bouchier's position was uncertain, at Knole, safe behind that gateway he knew exactly who he was.

4f) Adapting the 1456 House

At the same time as Bouchier's builders were creating this new gatehouse and courtyard to the west of the house other parts of his workforce were continuing the development of the older ranges to the east. We have already seen that the archbishop employed workmen at the beginning of that decade who can only have been working on already standing buildings, the implication being that he was altering the then extant ranges around Water Court. Its change in function from outer to inner court meant changes could now be made to its enclosing ranges. Significantly, the former east entrance front and gatehouse was now the rear of the house and thus required alteration. It is difficult to be certain of the complexities of the phasing around the east ranges but what is clear is that Bouchier altered the gateway through Still Room Passage and extended eastwards the buildings immediately surrounding the former gatehouse. The remains of the stone jambs of the earlier gateway arch are now only visible where later plaster has been chipped away from around them (Fig.32) and the two arches that today form the east and west ends of the passage display the familiar hallmarks of Bouchier's building phases. At the west end of the passage the arch (Fig.66) is formed in two sections. The principal section has a plain hollow-chamfered profile and a four-centred head. It is ornamented, however, by a secondary section with an ogee profile that is supported by imposts projecting from the springing points. This is an unusual feature, but it reflects the arrangement of the vaulted ceiling of the Bouchier Tower oriel (Fig.48). At the east end where the passage opens out into the gardens the arch has a deep roll and hollow-chamfer moulding profile which is a variation on the Bouchier Type 2 (Fig.67). The dimensions of this opening are smaller in scale than the passage and the arch at its opposite end confirming that the structural alterations reflect and chronologically post-date the functional change brought about by the construction of Bouchier's Tower. The shrinking in size of the east front gate reveals clearly that this was no longer considered a main entrance but had become a much less important portal perhaps, as now, providing access to the gardens.

Remodelling also extended along the east range. Whilst it is difficult to be certain of the phasing, it is nonetheless clear that the range has developed in several stages and it seems possible to relate the earliest changes with the alterations witnessed along Still Room Passage. Moving along the east front it is noticeable that a straight joint with prominent quoins survives between the second and third windows to the north of Still Room Passage (Fig.68).¹⁸⁸ The quoins suggest that at this point the wall returned to the west, although this return has since been hidden by the further extension eastwards of the north end of the range. This was, then, a projecting block standing proud of the east front. On the first floor it seems to have supported a jettied timber range, for behind the wall in the Inner Still Room (G.116) remain a series of stone corbels and timber brackets that correspond with the straight joint in the east wall.¹⁸⁹ These have been divorced from their original function and are now obscure, but it seems most likely that they formerly supported jettied ranges above.

4g) The Chapel

As the ranges around Water Court were being altered and adapted for their new use as an inner court, Bouchier's builders were also in the process of demolition and new building in the area to the south-east of the courtyard. Here on top of what had formerly been the south-east corner tower the archbishop built a new Chapel (M.03) (Fig.69) on a scale fit for his ecclesiastical office. Like much of Knole the construction of the Chapel is not recorded specifically in the surviving works accounts and an understanding of its development can only be gained from a discussion of its fabric. However, it displays architectural details that correspond with the work around Stone Court thereby seemingly investing it with a corresponding date in the 1460s. Certainly there was a functioning Chapel at Knole by 1470 for in that year the archbishop had to pay for the burials of several of the boys of the Chapel at Knole.¹⁹⁰

The main door to the Chapel (Fig.54) is consistent with the moulding patterns attributable to Archbishop Bouchier (Fig.10). It is an elaborate version of the Type 2 doors seen in the Great Hall (G.121) and in the east wall of the Reynolds Room (F.140)

¹⁸⁸ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 37

¹⁸⁹ Goodhew Hunter, p. 7

¹⁹⁰ TNA SC 6 1130 3

since it is formed of a hollow-chamfered section between two rolls. It also has the typical drafted margins. These features place it clearly within Bouchier's works of the 1460s. This is confirmed by Philip Dixon's conclusions that the Chapel undercroft was secondary to both the first Duke's Tower, which it abuts at its west-end, and to the curtain wall which marked the previous easternmost extent of the house.¹⁹¹ The undercroft and the Chapel above were certainly part of the same phase of building works and originally the two were connected via a newel stair in their north-west corner (this was taken out by Archbishop Warham when he created the present access to the undercroft). In the south wall of the undercroft a niche (Fig.70), often described as a lavabo but now thought to have a different function (see p. 192) is stylistically similar to the doorways associated with Bouchier's work. It cannot be a later insertion since its jambs are formed of the same stone blocks as the ceiling vault and both have typical drafted margins. The ribs of the vault display the banker marks of the masons who formed them. There are too few however, both here and throughout the house, to warrant serious analysis of these marks.

A date of the 1460s for the addition of the new Chapel is further evidence of Bouchier's change in attitude towards the house at that time. It must be considered likely that the original house of the 1450s had a chapel of some description, but Bouchier's new works created a much larger and more prominent Chapel suitable for a man of the church. In adding a large Chapel Bouchier signalled his intention to base his household at Knole and to use the house more regularly. Whilst the small chapel of the 1450s might suffice for occasional visits a much larger building was needed to accommodate the religious provision of the house over longer stays.

Leading from the Great Hall to the Chapel is an arcaded ground floor pentice or corridor now known as the Chapel Corridor (Fig.35). This is very definitely the product of Bouchier's successor Warham since its timber-framing and style match more closely with his works at Knole (see pp. 103-110). However, we can speculate that a similar structure stood on the same footings and predated Warham's arcade. Ritualised procession through the house to the Chapel was part of the daily routine of the archbishops (see pp. 189-196) and a direct connection between the two buildings was, therefore, a necessary part of the plan of the house. Certainly the door from the east side

¹⁹¹ Dixon, p. 12

of the Great Hall that leads into Warham's pentice corridor seems to have a designed relationship with this route of approach to the Chapel.

4h) The Solar and the Tower

Building works at Knole continued throughout the decade. Although the clearest evidence comes from the first few years of the 1460s we continue to witness activity into 1468. Indeed fragmentary documents and accounts in the archbishop's papers at Lambeth Palace Library suggest that extensive building was still being undertaken between 1466 and 1468. An initial note of caution is required, however, for whilst the series of documents are relatively clear in their content they contain no internal dating evidence or mention of Knole. We must rely, therefore, as previous authors have before, on the catalogue descriptions and assume that they are sound, despite the lack of clarity about how they were arrived at. The most interesting of these papers is also potentially the most frustrating for that reason. It is dated in Lambeth Palace Library's catalogue to 1466-67 and listed under the generalised title, 'Sevenoaks, Knole, Bretons, Panthurst and Joces: Bailiffs and farmers'.¹⁹² Yet Charles Phillips, when he presented an incomplete transcript in his history of the Sackville family, was understandably keen to consider it as relating to Knole.¹⁹³ However, whilst it clearly described work at a large archiepiscopal house we cannot be completely certain that it was Knole. The document, written on a narrow strip of parchment, reads as follows:

“[...] of Thome' Bon'
ferst payd to Rechs'
dykere – ~~xij s iij d~~
It for Joh' Berdys rent [...]
It vj^m of wallenayle iij ...
It for j labor' for vj days
worke in the gret chamb'

¹⁹² LPL ED 543 Sayers, p. 24

¹⁹³ Phillips, Vol. II, p. 334

in the newe seler – ij s
 It for j Seff es to the masonys iiij d
 It for makynge of vij^c
 lath to the newe towre xiiij d
 It for j laborre iiij days vj
 in olde kechyn per the day
 iiij d – xiiij d
 It for ij^m of walleprygg
 to the stabyll and other
 placys – xiiij d
~~It for j cowle to the~~
~~masonys – xij d~~
 Sm – ~~xij s iiij d~~.¹⁹⁴

With caution duly noted however, Knole is the most likely candidate as the subject of the document. The name ‘Thome Bon’ also appears in accounts more securely identifiable with Knole as ‘Thomas Boon’ in 1460-61 and as ‘Thomas Bone’ in 1466-67.¹⁹⁵ The fact that a ‘Thomas Boone’ of Sevenoaks made a will in 1486 suggests that he lived locally and adds weight to the possibility that Knole is the house referred to in the account.¹⁹⁶

If this is indeed so then the document can be considered useful on several levels. Firstly it confirms the conclusion of this study, namely that Bouchier’s building phases in the 1460s saw the construction of new state apartments. Here we see reference to labourers working in the Great Chamber and in the, “newe seler”, which may be read to mean ‘solar’ – and that the kitchens, which are here called, “olde”, were evidently part of an earlier phase of work. More importantly, however, the account also witnesses new

¹⁹⁴ LPL ED 543-1a

¹⁹⁵ LPL ED 1243 (f.10) TNA SC 6 1129 9

¹⁹⁶ Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 192

work taking place in the second half of the 1460s. The reference to the, “newe towre”, is ambiguous and might relate to several structures at Knole. However, we are inclined to agree with the interpretation forwarded by Oxford Archaeology that the new tower in question was the rebuilt Duke’s Tower.¹⁹⁷ Certainly we know that the Duke’s Tower was reconstructed in Bouchier’s time for until recently it had a fireplace bearing the Archbishop’s heraldic knot and pallium alongside the words, “*Benedictus deus*” (Fig.11).¹⁹⁸

By the close of the 1460s, therefore, Fiennes’ manor house had been transformed. It was no longer the house of a courtier, all be it one of the most powerful, but had become the home of a prelate. Originally east facing and modestly arranged around one principal courtyard, Bouchier’s house had been spun 180 degrees to face west and now, behind its grand and assertive façade, stood a new courtyard, Chapel and suites of staterooms. Knole was now a house fit for Bouchier the archbishop.

¹⁹⁷ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Society*, p. 41

¹⁹⁸ Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, p. 7

Phase 2 A.3 – Archbishop Bouchier: Green Court and Stable Court, 1472-1474

1) Political Turbulence and the Cessation of Works 1469-1471

As the campaign of building works at Knole came to an end at the close of the 1460s and as the next decade got underway the political seas through which Archbishop Bouchier navigated once again became rough. The year 1470 was politically turbulent for England and the county of Kent was at the forefront of the disruptions. Edward IV had been on the throne for nine years and Bouchier, whose sympathies were Yorkist, had flourished. Indeed, in 1467 Bouchier was made a cardinal thanks to petitioning by the king on his behalf. In the early months of 1470 however, the exiled Lancastrians began to grow resurgent. In May Margaret of Anjou was reconciled with Warwick and Clarence and between them they began to plan an offensive against Edward IV.¹⁹⁹ In England at the same time rebellions had already started. Warwick and Clarence had been instrumental in raising a revolt the previous year in Kent, assembling a rebel army in Canterbury in July and marching on London.²⁰⁰ The revolt had not toppled the king but it had left Kent fractious and, on several further occasions during the following years, the commons there rose against the crown.²⁰¹

In the autumn of 1470 Warwick once again invaded Kent. This time his army was more successful and, sensing the imminent danger, Edward IV fled abroad allowing the Lancastrian Henry VI to reclaim the throne. For Bouchier this was a nervous time as a supporter of Edward and a member of a powerful Yorkist family Bouchier was viewed with suspicion by the new administration. Indeed, as Henry VI's followers re-established control, the Bishop of York, George Neville, committed Archbishop Bouchier and his brother Henry to the Tower of London. By the end of the year they were certainly free for the archbishop was summoned to attend the 1470 parliament.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ R.A. Griffiths, 'Henry VI', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 26 (Oxford: 2004), p. 508

²⁰⁰ C. Ross, *Edward IV*, (London: 1975), p. 130

²⁰¹ C.F. Richmond, 'Fauconberg's Kentish Rising of May 1471', *English Historical Review*, 85 (1970), p. 677

²⁰² Clark, p. 825

However, although his incarceration did not last long it must have served to reinforce the tension that Bouchier felt, and certainly distracted his attention from Knole.

The Lancastrian revival too was quickly over. After their release from prison Thomas and Henry secretly campaigned on Edward IV's behalf and by April 1471 they had met with some success. Edward had returned to England and following the Yorkist victory at Tewkesbury in May, Henry VI died.²⁰³ The rebellions, however, continued. In Kent that same May George Neville's illegitimate cousin, Thomas, the Bastard of Fauconberg, led a new revolt. Styling himself "Capteyn and leder of o^r lige lorde Kyng Henry's people in Kent" Fauconberg had spent several weeks raising an army from towns and villages across the county that, by the time of its unsuccessful attacks on London between 10th and 14th May, numbered many hundreds.²⁰⁴

Archbishop Bouchier wisely avoided Kent for the turbulent few years at the beginning of the 1470s. The evidence of his register, limited though it is, suggests that for much of 1470 and 1471 he stayed at Lambeth.²⁰⁵ There are more than forty documents in his register dated to this two-year period for which a location is given. Of these all but two are signed at Lambeth and both Knole and Otford are conspicuous by their absence. Lambeth, of course, was a sensible place for the archbishop to base himself during the crisis since its proximity to London allowed him to stay in constant touch with the fast-moving situation. But he must also have considered his new house at Knole to be dangerous and isolated in the face of the county's rebellions. Kent was not the place for a prominent Yorkist to be during these divisive times. Warwick's march from Canterbury to London in July 1469 must have passed close to Sevenoaks and Fauconberg's rebels, who moved extensively around the county, for a while based themselves in Sittingbourne to the east of Knole.²⁰⁶ There is no indication that either army ever came to Sevenoaks, but the unpredictability of the situation clearly made the archbishop cautious.

Unsurprisingly, the first few years at the beginning of the decade also witnessed a cessation of building works. At nearby Otford in the year 1469-70 the Receiver

²⁰³ Griffiths, p. 509

²⁰⁴ J.R. Scott, 'Letters Respecting Fauconberge's Kentish Rising in 1471', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XI (1877), p. 359; M. Hicks, 'Neville [Fauconberg], Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 40 (Oxford: 2004), p. 542 Richmond, p. 685

²⁰⁵ Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourghier*, pp. 303-308

²⁰⁶ Scott, pp. 359-60

recorded payments for minor, ongoing building works but at Knole besides paling the park, furnishing the auditors chamber and making “*j dressingbord ad coquinam*” [one ‘dressingbord’ for the kitchen], there is no evidence of major works.²⁰⁷ The following years, 1470-71 and 1471-72, the accounts are quiet and Knole does not appear at all.²⁰⁸ At Otford, where a small payment for unspecified repairs totalling 4 7s. 7d. is recorded in 1470-71, it seems that work was scaled back, for in previous years the spending was significantly higher. Whilst any conclusion drawn from Knole’s absence and Otford’s small costs may be complicated by the fragmentary survival of the 1471-72 records (LPL ED 285) and by the lack of detail in any of the accounts, it is, nonetheless, worth suggesting that it represents a pause in any major construction at both houses.

It may be that the work at Knole had simply reached a natural conclusion by the end of the 1460s. Stone Court had been finished and the Water Court Ranges successfully remodelled. However, the apparent scaling back at Otford at the same time suggests other considerations. Kent was clearly dangerous and for labourers in the Yorkist archbishop’s service it may have been even more so. As the political situation became more complicated and the rebellions more widespread it is possible that the workforce dispersed concerned for their own safety. On the other hand, of course, it is equally possible that the labourers dispersed, not to escape the rebels but to join them. The recruitment across the county was evidently widespread and some of the men of the archbishop’s labour force must have held Lancastrian sympathies. Certainly amongst the known rebels pardoned in Kent following Faulconberg’s revolt was Roger Shelley, a farmer of Thomas Bouchier’s demesne in Bexley and later his receiver-general in that county.²⁰⁹ Employment it seems was no guide to political alignment and a scattering of the Knole workforce, if indeed there was one, may have been similarly informed by personal allegiances to one or other cause.

²⁰⁷ LPL ED 1245 (f.12)

²⁰⁸ TNA SC 6 1130 3 LPL ED 285

²⁰⁹ Richmond, p. 687; Roger Shelley’s name appears in the Receiver’s account TNA SC 6/1130/1

2) Resumption of Work 1472-73

2a) *Brick Building at Knole*

The following year, 1472-73, as Edward IV re-established control and the political turmoil subsided, work began again at Knole. As with much of the building it is difficult to be certain what the new works comprised, but it is clear from the Receiver's records that they were different in character to those of previous years. Whilst in the 1460s the emphasis was on the purchase of stone and timber, now as Knole moved into a new decade it was brickmakers who came to the fore. In the first year of the new campaign a payment of £19 was noted to 'Andres Brekeman' for making bricks. This was part of a larger total cost of 56 9d. for building works, a sum that also included a small payment for providing 'Andres Brekeman' with a house in the manor.²¹⁰ During the next year, 1473-74, brick was also the dominant material. The annual accounts record that a new brick maker, 'Alardo Brykman', was paid £21 10s for 260,000 bricks.²¹¹ This sits alongside a further payment of 28 15s. 8 d. in the same accounts for carpenters, masons and other labourers indicating that 1473-74 at Knole witnessed significant building works. Whilst the accounts remain unspecific about the scope of work it seems clear that there was large-scale new building. The documents detailing the payments to 'Alardo Brykman' record that the 260,000 bricks that he supplied were priced at 20s. per 1,000. If we assume that 'Andres Brekeman' was paid at the same rate then his 19 reflects the manufacture of 228,000 bricks and we see that over a period of two years the workforce used nearly half a million bricks in total.²¹² This may be compared to Tattershall Castle where, in 1445-46, it was estimated that 322,000 large bricks would be needed to build the, "*magno turre vocato le Dongeon*" [great tower called 'le Dongeon'].²¹³ Whilst we cannot compare the relative sizes of the individual bricks at Knole and Tattershall and it is not clear whether the estimate of 322,000 proved accurate – indeed, it may be remarked that this was only a small proportion of the millions of bricks that the entire project required – we can,

²¹⁰ TNA SC 6 1130 4

²¹¹ TNA SC 6 1130 5 The same information is also recorded in LPL ED 1246 which appears to be a draft copy of the document that is in the National Archives.

²¹² TNA SC 6 1130 4

²¹³ Simpson, p. 36 (English translation p. 76) J.A. Wight, *Brick Building in England From the Middle Ages to 1550*, (London: 1972), p. 130

nonetheless, reflect that the building work at Knole must have been considerable in scale.

Knole, however, is a Ragstone house and the next evident phases of building distinguishable from the extant fabric are the stone ranges surrounding Green Court. How then can this be reconciled with the house's chronology and with the recorded use of brick at this time? And what was the brick used for? These are difficult questions to answer for it is always possible that it went into long since demolished ranges or ancillary buildings or was used for several small-scale and less obvious additions such as chimneys, fireplaces, internal walls or floors. However, half a million bricks is undoubtedly evidence of a considerable building campaign and despite the apparent constraints we must, nonetheless, consider that the bricks bought to Knole in the early 1470s represent a new extension to the scope of the house.

2b) Green Court and Stable Court

Before we can consider this problem in full we must remark on the phasing evidence drawn from the house's extant physical structure. Logically it is clear that once the ranges around Water Court and Stone Court were complete the next addition to the building must have been Green Court (Fig.07). This courtyard, however, has never been fitted easily into a defined phasing. For Faulkner Green Court was an addition by Henry VIII after the ceding of the estate to the crown.²¹⁴ Yet this cannot have been the case. As Howard Colvin has demonstrated, Henry did not spend sufficient money at Knole to make his authorship of Green Court likely and, furthermore, these ranges would have looked decidedly old-fashioned by the late 1530s.²¹⁵ The gatehouse seems to look backwards to much earlier examples such as the fourteenth century ones at Mettingham Castle, Suffolk or Alnwick Abbey, Northumberland, rather than forward to the great brick gatehouses that characterised Henry's building works. Visually there are remarkable similarities between Knole's Outer Wicket and the gatehouse of c.1490 – 1500 at Pencoed Castle (Fig.25) in Wales.²¹⁶ This might lead us to suggest that the

²¹⁴ Faulkner, pp. 145-146

²¹⁵ *HKW*, Vol. IV, p. 218

²¹⁶ Emery, Vol. II, p. 640 (n.83) J. Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent / Monmouthshire*, (London: 2000), p. 326. Newman does not give a date for the gatehouse at Pencoed Castle and simply describes it as being 'Tudor'.

Outer Wicket is of a similar date as Pencoed and thus to narrow the attribution to Morton. But we must be cautious since Knole does not conform to the type of work Morton was commissioning elsewhere. Morton was leading the fashion for brick architecture and even in the 1490s when he built the gatehouse at Lambeth Palace (Fig.23) his buildings were stylistically more advanced than Knole's Outer Wicket. Despite this, however, Colvin hedged his bets and concluded that the probable builder was either Morton or Warham.²¹⁷ This is a conclusion that, more recently, Oxford Archaeology have been content to continue. Their phased plan describes the oldest ranges surrounding Green Court with the Outer Wicket as dating from 1486 – 1538 and thus attributable to Morton, Warham or Cranmer.²¹⁸

In following the view that the outer courtyard was built by one of Bouchier's archiepiscopal successors all these authors have continued a tradition that was first articulated by John Bridgman at the turn of the nineteenth century. For Bridgman the likely builder was Morton and in his guidebook to Knole he wrote:

“Archbishop Moreton [*sic*] is said to have added a supplement to the building, which I conclude to be the present front, with the Porter's Lodge in the centre”.²¹⁹

Yet their conclusions are arguably as unfounded as those of Faulkner. There is no more evidence for Morton's authorship than there is for Deane, Warham, Cranmer or, indeed, Henry VIII. We may wonder, therefore, why Bouchier's name has never been put forward in connection with Green Court. It is presumably because previous writers on the subject have considered it unlikely that the archbishop would enclose the ground in front of Bouchier's Tower, for in doing so he would hide from outside view his own piece of statement architecture. But this is no reason to discount completely Bouchier's name from the list. Indeed, there is evidence that does positively point towards Bouchier.

²¹⁷ *HKW*, Vol. IV, p. 218

²¹⁸ See the phased plans presented in Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*

²¹⁹ Bridgman, pp. 149-150

Oxford Archaeology's survey revealed that the north and west ranges of Green Court were all laid-out at the same time. However, the ranges along the west side of the courtyard (not including the Outer Wicket) were subsequently heavily altered in the seventeenth century. Their internal layout was changed and new stone faades may have been built on the side of the ranges facing into Green Court. This probably replaced earlier timber-framed or brick structures that stood against the masonry wall of the west-front. The south range, now an Orangery, was built later on new footings that extended the courtyard further to the south. Recent dendrochronology of the roof structure suggests that this was the work of Thomas Sackville in about 1605.²²⁰ It replaced a curtain wall which stood further to the north and can be seen by a parchmark in the grass surface of the courtyard.²²¹ We can conclude, therefore, that the north and west ranges of Green Court and the lost curtain wall to the south were all of one phase of building work and the product of one patron's authorship.

It is in the north range of Green Court (Fig.72) that we find the most convincing evidence for an attribution to Archbishop Bourchier. This building was formerly used for stabling. Indeed it is still known as the Bishop's Stables (G.33-G.39), so its name at the very least suggests a connection.²²² In the doorways, however, on either side of the ground floor passage (G.34) linking Green Court with Stable Court we see again the familiar moulding profile noted previously as being representative of Bourchier's building works (Fig.10 73). Both doors are heavily eroded but close inspection has suggested that a continuation of the drafted margin pattern is also possible in both cases. Given the similarity between these and the door frames in those parts of the building more easily attributed to Bourchier we may legitimately suggest his involvement. In the northern part of the west range of Green Court, in room G.25, there is also a fireplace of apparently early date (Fig.74). It has a four centred arch of a type that typifies the archiepiscopal work of the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth centuries, but it also has the

²²⁰ M.C. Bridge, *The Tree-Ring Dating of Timbers From Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent*, (Unpublished report: 2010), p. 4

²²¹ Oxford Archaeology, *The Orangery at Knole, Sevenoaks: Historic Building Recording and Investigation*, (Unpublished report: 2009), pp. 17-18

²²² There is some confusion over the name of this range. The recent survey by Oxford Archaeology refers to it as the King's Stable (Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, fig. 2) but Bridgman, whose guide book was first published in 1817 clearly states, "The building on the opposite side of the court from the Orangery forms one side of the stables, and is still called the Bishop's Stables" (Bridgman, p. 13). Whatever the currently accepted name is, therefore, it is clear that for some of its history this building has been associated eponymously with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

distinctive heavy roll moulding profile around the frame which is similar to the fireplace in the Bouchier Room (F.155). The Bouchier Room fireplace (Fig.75), we can be certain, is *in situ* and represents Bouchier's phase of building. We might consider, therefore, that the fireplace in Green Court is of a similar date and attribute it to Bouchier's masons.²²³ Of course we cannot be sure that these two doorways or the fireplace are together conclusive proof of Bouchier's authorship of the range but having made the stylistic connection previously we must consider them adequate evidence with which to justify the hypothesis that he was involved.

It is, however, problematic that the Bouchier type moulding profile does not appear elsewhere in these ranges. In particular it is noteworthy that the internal doorways of the Outer Wicket (Fig.71) do not display that moulding style, whilst the evidence for the use of the moulding type from elsewhere in the house might suggest that they should. Yet the doorways that we find in the Outer Wicket (specifically in Mr Mason's Room – S.18) certainly indicate a fifteenth-century date since they are plain four-centred arches with chamfered profiles and broach stops (Fig.76). The stone-work of these doors also has drafted-margins (Fig.77). Furthermore, they are not without precedent in other areas of Bouchier's build. In particular, a similar doorway may be found to the north of the Buttery and Pantry (between G.80 and G.93) although here the arch is somewhat more pointed in character than those of the Outer Wicket. However, as a result we cannot discount the interpretation that it was Bouchier's builders who constructed the Outer Wicket and its adjoining ranges. Indeed it is possible to suggest that the more elaborate moulding profiles were used only in more visible or public parts of the house whilst both the rear of the Buttery and Pantry and the chambers of the Outer Wicket were perhaps spaces reserved for the domestic officers and not, in general, for visiting guests. In this light we may reflect on the example of Eton College where it was stated that the outer court, "shall be edified with diverse housing necessary for the bakehouse, brewhouse, garners, stables, hayhouse, with chambers for the stewards, auditors".²²⁴ Whilst we cannot be sure that all these functions were fulfilled by Knole's Green Court, we might suggest that the ranges were intended as domestic

²²³ It should be noted, however, that the Green Court fireplace has a large inserted keystone that is not in keeping with others of this type. Whilst it may legitimately be considered as evidence for the age of the range we might also bear in mind that there have been later alterations to the fireplace and, therefore, add a note of caution to our conclusion.

²²⁴ G. Worsley, *The British Stable*, (London: 2004), p. 11

offices or as apartments for service staff rather than as high status accommodation like those surrounding the inner courts.

Two sides of the courtyard, therefore, contained domestic offices or staff apartments. To the west this was clear and to the north the Bishop's Stable had habitable rooms on a floor above. Four chimney stacks on the north side of the Bishop's Stable (Fig.78) (the western-most of which is hidden by the later projecting extension to the north – now Stable Court Store, G.53) are testament to this domestic function. It is unusual to find accommodation above a stable, as more often we find storage, but it is not without precedent for it is similar to the outer court range at Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire, built by Sir William Fiennes after 1457. There the stable building had apartments above and stabling below, an arrangement which is also identifiable by the provision of chimney stacks in the range.²²⁵

On the south side of Green Court the space was enclosed by a curtain wall.²²⁶ This wall formed the southern-most extent of the courtyard in its first phase, for by its position and alignment it aided the symmetrical appearance of the house. Viewing the west front from the park the range originally returned east at the point suggested by the position of the south curtain wall (the bays south of that point represent a later extension). At its north end it returned where it met the north-west corner of the Bishop's Stable and in doing so it meant that the Outer Wicket was placed centrally in the facade (Fig.07). This also accounts for the misalignment of the two gate portals since the centre of the Outer Wicket arch is slightly further north than the centre of the Bouchier Tower arch. Whilst this seems, on the face of it, to be a result of poor planning by the archbishop's builders, in reality it reflects the fact that the width of the stable range to the north was not balanced by a range to the south. Furthermore, the position of the south curtain wall also provided an internal symmetry to the courtyard. By adjoining the Bouchier Tower range at a point about 2m from the north-west corner of the King's Tower (G.159) it ensured that it balanced the garderobe tower at the north end of the range. Clearly Bouchier's builders had made no mistakes with the planning of his new outer courtyard but had in fact cleverly laid it out to maximise the symmetrical effects of the architecture.

²²⁵ Worsley, p. 17

²²⁶ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 15

Directly north of Green Court, on the opposite side of Stable Court is the Barn (L.05) (Fig.31). Following a fire in 1887, which destroyed the roof of the Barn and damaged much of the structure, it was extensively rebuilt. The destruction and subsequent work has meant that any accurate dating of the range is now impossible but, nonetheless, it has been suggested that it formed part of the earliest phases of construction. Certainly the large arched opening on its north side suggests an earlier date and it is also clear that it predates the stable range that abuts its south-east corner.²²⁷ If this is so, then the existence of a roughly contemporary range directly opposite (i.e. the Bishop's Stables) provides a neat layout and furnishes what may otherwise have been considered a randomly located barn with a degree of connection to the rest of the house. Oxford Archaeology's survey suggested that the east wall of the east range of Stable Court (which was remodelled in the seventeenth century) was of the same date as the Bishop's Stable so it seems that Archbishop Bourchier may have had stabling on the same footprint.²²⁸ A large separate stable courtyard may have been a little unusual in the fifteenth century; at Eton College and at the archbishop's house at Croydon, for example, the stabling was in the more usual position in the outer courtyard alongside the lesser household offices.²²⁹ At Knole, however, many of the domestic offices were probably to the north of the house (around Queen's Court as they are today) and the archbishop, who in 1459 owned at least sixty horses, required stable provision for himself and a large retinue.²³⁰ It does not seem impossible, therefore, that the early ranges around Stable Court (including the Barn, the Bishop's Stable and the east wall of the courtyard's east range) were built in the early 1470s at the same time as Green Court.

Still problematic, however, is the apparent lack of brick in these buildings. Clearly the evidence of the accounts and the evidence of the extant fabric provide a disparity that is not easy to ignore. Yet it is also not impossible to address. Whilst the ranges are not brick buildings in a visible sense, their fabric does contain brick. This is most evident in the Outer Wicket, for where the plaster has been damaged in the interior of its south-east staircase turret (F.21) the underlying brick may be seen (Fig.79). Although

²²⁷ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, pp. 45-46

²²⁸ See the phased plans presented in Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*

²²⁹ Worsley, p. 11

²³⁰ C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, (New Haven: 1999), p. 12

the extent of brick use within the rest of this structure is not known it might be suggested that the wall cores or the internal faces were constructed of the material throughout. Certainly despite general evidence to suggest that builders in the fifteenth century considered brick to be a prestigious material, at Knole we routinely find it being used in more invisible locations.²³¹

We cannot say for sure, however, that all the brick building at Knole was invisible. Although the west side of Green Court was originally lined with ranges on the footings of those that exist today it is clear that they were heavily remodelled in the seventeenth century (since many of the first floor rooms have early seventeenth-century fireplaces typical of the type installed by Thomas Sackville elsewhere in the house). Oxford Archaeology concluded that this remodelling may have been wholesale and that whilst the masonry wall that forms Knole's west front was retained, timber-framed ranges that formerly abutted it were replaced with the stone buildings that still face into Green Court today.²³² We might suggest an alternative interpretation, however, and consider the possibility that the flanking ranges were not timber-framed but were instead built of brick.

It is useful to note that during drainage and archaeological works undertaken during 2010 rubble layers consisting of early brick with associated and attached mortar were uncovered below the existing ranges in the south-west corner of Green Court. This seems to suggest that some demolition of brick buildings occurred prior to the construction of these ranges. We can also say quite securely that, for some of its early history, external brick faades were visible at Knole. Surrounding Stone Court the timber framing of the ranges was infilled with brick nogging some of which still survives in the framework. This brick work may be *in situ* or the bricks may have been reused from elsewhere. Regardless, however, it is certain that the brick itself had been part of an external wall since a brick from a collapsed section of nogging in the south range of Stone Court bears the remnants of ruddling the applied layer of red ochre paint

²³¹ Brick at Knole is not unknown in earlier building phases. The 1456 deeds of sale, for example, record that there was "breeke" stored at John Carter's quarry when Bouchier bought the property from Fiennes (CKS U1450 T4 17) yet this brick cannot be directly identified in the extant fabric. Furthermore, the vault of the Chapel undercroft (L.50 and L.51) was also built of brick, but again in a largely invisible location (it is now plastered and may have also been plastered originally). The conclusions to be drawn from this might be limited, but they do suggest that Knole's builders saw brick as a stock building product and not as a display material.

²³² Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 9

and ruled white ‘mortar joints’ (Fig.80) that was a fashionable finish for late-medieval and Tudor brickwork. Whether or not then the bricks infilling the Stone Court timber frame are in their original location they do provide evidence that Knole, for some of its history, included recognisable and visible brick ranges.

3) A Moat at Knole

Amongst the papers of the Lennard family, tenants of Knole between 1574 and 1604, there is an intriguing and vague reference that raises the possibility that Knole was formerly moated. In 1569 a dispute arose between Thomas Sackville and John Lennard over the lease of the house, both men claiming a legitimate right to occupy the property.²³³ Forcing his own claim, Sackville had his agent, William Lovelace, chain the gates closed and his servants occupied the house. Lennard in his account of Sackville’s actions drawn up as part of the legal evidence, subsequently claimed that, “The possessyon of Knolle house ys forcybly kept by my lord es s er vant es the brydges broken down”.²³⁴ We cannot be certain of the meaning of Lennard’s claim, but we might contend the possibility that the bridges to which he referred were across a moat.

Moats were part of the *leitmotif* of medieval noble architecture and, similarly to the false crenellations and machicolations of the Bouchier Tower, might invest a house with a sense of lordly power. As such they were not uncommon and, by the late Middle Ages, were increasingly designed for display rather than defence.²³⁵ Although by the fifteenth century many moats had been abandoned, at some places, such as at Oxburgh Hall, they were still being dug to complement the sham defences of the facade (although it is clear from Lennard’s complaint that it might also serve an attendant defensive function).

However, we must concede that a moat at Knole seems an unlikely feature. The topography of the site falls sharply away to the north since the house was built on the

²³³ A. Gregory & E. Town, ‘Trouble at the Gate: Conflict & Controversy at Knole, 1456-1645’, *National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual*, (2010), p. 48

²³⁴ Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, D DL C44

²³⁵ M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550*, (London: 1987), p. 44

side of a hill. A fully encircling water-filled moat, therefore, would have been an impossibility. However, partial moats were dug from time-to-time. At Hampton Court, for example, Wolsey's moat was built in sections and at Rycote in the 1530s the moat ditch was in front of the entrance along only one side of the house.²³⁶ At Knole, therefore, we might wonder whether a moat ditch of sorts with an associated bridge once existed along the west front. Lennard's account of course referred to 'bridges' in the plural which perhaps complicates the assumption, but it does not, we think, invalidate the legitimacy of the hypothesis.

4) Archbishop Bouchier's Death

If we suppose, therefore, that the building of Green Court was his last great enterprise at Knole, by the middle of the 1470s Archbishop Bouchier had built himself a vast and well-equipped country house which was now largely complete. Indeed, for the remaining twelve years of his life there were no further building payments recorded amongst the accounts of his Receiver. The timing of Knole's completion was good, for now Bouchier was also growing old, approaching his mid-sixties, and he determined to use his newly-completed house more often. Knole was clearly big enough to support a large staff and to serve the archbishop as a permanent home rather than as a temporary lodging. It is notable, therefore, that in the last years of his life it was to Knole that he retreated. No further visits to Otford were recorded after 1473 and as his health failed him into the 1480s it was Knole that became his favoured residence (Fig.09a). Finally, on 30th March 1486 it was at Knole that Bouchier died.

²³⁶ Howard, p. 47

Phase 2 B.1 – Archbishops Morton and Deane: Upkeep and Repair, 1486-1503

1) Archbishop John Morton

In 1480, presumably already sensing that he was nearing the end of his life, Archbishop Bouchier had granted his house and estate at Knole to the See of Canterbury.²³⁷ With the archbishop's death, therefore, and the accession of John Morton to the archiepiscopal office in October 1486, Knole acquired a new owner.²³⁸ Like Bouchier, Morton was translated to the see from the Bishopric of Ely, but unlike Bouchier, whose early promotions in the church had resulted from his powerful dynastic links, Morton was a lawyer from relatively humble beginnings who had found favour in royal service and who had taken ecclesiastical office late in his career.²³⁹

Archbishop Bouchier had made Knole his favoured residence it was the place to which he retired as age caught up with him. But the fondness which Bouchier showed for the house did not automatically determine his successor's relationship with it. When Morton inherited the office Knole was only one of many estates and houses that came with it. Certainly it was the newest and, we might assume, the best appointed of the archiepiscopal residences yet this did not necessarily translate into an immediate adoption of the property as Morton's first choice of house. Indeed Du Boulay has suggested that it was to Aldington, near Ashford, Kent, and not to Knole that Morton more often retreated.²⁴⁰ This is not to suggest that Morton abandoned Knole for there is certainly ample evidence in the archiepiscopal registers to suggest that he made frequent visits during the fourteen years of his tenancy, but it is important to reflect that the rapidly changing ownership of episcopal properties like Knole meant that a continuity of use, function or design was not always guaranteed.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Canterbury, Ch. Ch. Cant. Reg. S. (ff.313r – 313v) The conditions of this transfer included the instruction that a chantry should be established in the parish church in Sevenoaks, TNA E 41 75

²³⁸ C. Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 39, (Oxford: 2004), pp. 421-425

²³⁹ Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John', pp. 421-425

²⁴⁰ Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 238

²⁴¹ C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *The register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1486-1500*, 3 Vols., (Leeds: 1987-2000)

It was said by Lambarde, less than one hundred years after Morton's accession to the archiepiscopal throne, that he had been amongst the archbishops who had, "liberally builded at Knolle".²⁴² Lambarde, we might suspect, was in a position to know he was a keen and renowned antiquarian writing when Knole was comparatively new and he was living locally in Ightham.²⁴³ As we have seen in a previous discussion, this idea has made its way into the accepted history of Knole and continues to be repeated to this day. Richard Kilburne, for example, writing eighty-nine years later in 1659, but perhaps simply following Lambarde's lead, remarked that Morton had "much enlarged" Knole and the sentiment of Bridgman's statement in 1817 that, "Archbishop Moreton [*sic* is said to have added a supplement to the building", reappears in the work by Howard Colvin, and more latterly in surveys by Oxford Archaeology.²⁴⁴ Bridgman's turn of phrase, however, is telling. For him, Morton was only "said to have" built at Knole and he seems to imply a lack of proof. With this in mind we must, therefore, consider the evidence for and against any additions to the house by Morton in some disregard of the apparently sound statement from Lambarde.

Morton has become known to history as a great patron of architecture and he has been described authoritatively as, "one of the great builders of the age".²⁴⁵ As Bishop of Ely he had rebuilt the episcopal palace at Hatfield (Fig.22).²⁴⁶ This new house was ranged around a courtyard and built entirely in diapered brickwork without stone dressings and was, for its time, a pioneering and fashionable building. The house is now significantly reduced in scale, having been robbed of much of its fabric by subsequent owners and converted in to stables to serve the neighbouring Hatfield House, yet enough survives to reveal that it was the work of an architecturally literate and progressive patron since this type of brick building was still relatively rare in England in the 1470s. Morton, however, had certainly seen many examples of brick architecture on the continent during his periods of exiles and political envoy throughout the preceding decades. Between 1474 and 1482, for example, he had been at the courts of France and

²⁴² Lambarde, pp. 462-463

²⁴³ J.D. Alsop, 'Lambarde, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 32 (Oxford: 2004), pp. 287-290

²⁴⁴ Kilburne, p. 244. Bridgman, p. 149. *HKW*, Vol. IV, p. 218. See the phased plans presented in Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*

²⁴⁵ Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John', p. 424

²⁴⁶ Emery, Vol. II, p. 253

Burgundy on several occasions and he cannot have helped but notice and admire the brick building styles of northern France and the Low Countries which were, at that time, beginning to filter into the architectural fashions of England. At the same time as building Hatfield, Morton was also engaged in the rebuilding of the residential ranges of Wisbech Castle. Whilst no trace of them survives it was said in 1643 by Sir Richard Baker that at Wisbech, “all the Brick building was of his [Morton’s] charge”.²⁴⁷

As Archbishop of Canterbury he was scarcely less active a builder. In 1493 Morton issued letters to one John Tulle instructing him:

“to take stone-cutters (*lathamos*), layers of stones called brekelayers and others for the building and repair of divers lordships, manors and other buildings in the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex pertaining to the church of Canterbury, which J. the archbishop, chancellor of England, is about to make afresh and build at his own great expense”.²⁴⁸

Today his most visible work as archbishop of Canterbury is arguably his brick gatehouse at Lambeth Palace (Fig.23) and he may also have been responsible for the chapel of the archiepiscopal house at Croydon for both of these still bear his identifying barrel or tun rebus. At Croydon it is on the internal cornice and at Lambeth it may be seen on a boss below the vault of the gateway. Both structures are brick buildings and both employ the fashions of the day, seemingly a characteristic of the buildings commissioned by Morton. These, however, were not Morton’s only building works as archbishop. John Leland, another great sixteenth-century antiquarian and a near contemporary of Lambard, wrote in the 1540s that:

“Moretone made a great Peace of the Palace at Lambeth. He made and translated a great Peace of the House at Maidstone. He buildid at

²⁴⁷ R. Baker, *A chronicle of the Kings of England, from the time of the Romans goverment unto the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King Charles*, (London: 1643), p. 158

²⁴⁸ *Cal. Pat. Henry VII*, I, p. 443 TNA C 66 574 mem. 18d

Alington Parke. He made great Building at Charing. He made almost the hole House at Forde. He buildid also at the Palace at Cantorbyri".²⁴⁹

Whilst it is difficult to say for certain it nonetheless seems likely that in this regard Leland is a more reliable source than Lambarde. Despite being born a few years after Morton's death, for much of Henry VIII's reign Leland moved on the outskirts of court circles and may have been in position to hear of Morton's achievements from some of the archbishop's friends and contemporaries.²⁵⁰ He was, for example, close to Richard Hyrde, a master of Thomas More's household, and may therefore have been acquainted with More himself whose respect for Morton, his former master, was well known.²⁵¹ Although this is no automatic guarantee of accuracy it does suggest that Leland was in a position to speak with some potential authority about the scope of Morton's building work and the specificity with which he listed the houses enlarged or built by the archbishop stands in contrast to the generalised statements made by Lambarde (although we must take into account that he failed to mention Croydon in his list). Notwithstanding this inconsistency it is of considerable note, therefore, that Leland's account makes no mention of Knole and we certainly do not see any confirmation from Leland of Lambarde's belief that Morton, "liberally builded at Knolle".²⁵²

With this in mind we may turn to the evidence from Morton's own time. We are fortunate for the series of Receiver's accounts for the Otford bailiwick that we have encountered in our discussion of the work of Archbishop Bouchier at Knole continued to be kept during Morton's tenancy. It should be said initially that an air of caution must be exercised when approaching these records, for although they appear to note broadly the same information there is a discernable change in the structure and layout of the documents concurrent with the archiepiscopal succession in 1486. Before that date Knole had been grouped in the accounts with the wider manor of Sevenoaks but after Morton's arrival it is dealt with independently. This may in its turn be considered a minor point but it seems pertinent to mention for we may wonder whether the change in

²⁴⁹ J. Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, Vol. VII, publ. by T. Hearne (Oxford: 1769), pp. 138-139

²⁵⁰ J.P. Carley, 'Leland, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 33, (Oxford: 2004), pp. 297-301

²⁵¹ Carley, p. 297

²⁵² Lambarde, pp. 462-463

structure also reflected a change in focus of the record keeper and thus a change in the type of information recorded in the accounts. This is a consideration of particular importance because Morton's Receiver makes little mention in his accounts of any building works at Knole between 1486 and 1500. The question must be asked, therefore, whether this reflects an actual slowing and cessation in further construction at the house or simply a new method of record keeping which saw Knole's building accounts being logged elsewhere. With this word of caution duly noted, however, we may concede that, in support of the former possibility, the accounts do continue to evidence building works in other manors as well as a few minor but non-specific references to repairs at Knole. In the roll for the year 1493-94, for example, there are references to repairs to mills at Otford and Byxhill (Bexley) and to a lodge in the park at Wrotham.²⁵³

Contrary to previous assumption, therefore, we might conclude that Morton did not add significantly to the house at Knole. Perhaps this is no surprise. After all he had inherited from Bouchier a large house that had only lately been completed to the specifications of his predecessor. Indeed as Leland makes clear it was at Morton's other Kentish properties that he made his architectural mark, properties that perhaps provided more scope for renewal or rebuilding than Knole did. Only a fragment of Morton's favoured house at Aldington still survives but that has been dated to c.1380.²⁵⁴ It is impossible, therefore, to tell what Morton added to the building. At Ford, however, a much clearer sense of the archbishop's buildings may be gained. This was arguably Morton's greatest domestic building project whilst Archbishop of Canterbury; Ford was, in Anthony Emery's words, "nothing less than a house on a scale commensurate with that at Knole".²⁵⁵ Notwithstanding Leland's assertion that Morton built "almost the whole house", it seems likely that he in fact incorporated and extended existing early fourteenth-century ranges.²⁵⁶ Yet his campaign of building was extensive and created a large house around four courtyards.²⁵⁷ It would not be appropriate to survey the house fully here, and indeed this has been done sufficiently well in other places, but it is

²⁵³ LPL ED 1250

²⁵⁴ E.W. Parkin, 'Cobb's Hall, Aldington, and the Holy Maid of Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 86 (1971), p. 15

²⁵⁵ Emery, Vol. III, p. 323

²⁵⁶ H. Gough, 'The Archbishop's manor at Ford, Hoath', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, CXXI (2001), p. 253

²⁵⁷ Emery, Vol. III, p. 339

important to note the comment made by the Parliamentary Survey of 1647 that, “most of the aforesaid premises, viz., mansion-house and outhouses aforesaid, are built with brick”.²⁵⁸ Again then we witness Morton as a brick builder, a characteristic that continues to stand against any conclusion that he added significantly to Knole for at Knole there is no evidence of the outward use of brick that we might expect from him.

Archbishop Morton, however, was not totally passive in his ownership of Knole. If not responsible for the addition of new ranges he did spend money on repair and upkeep. It seems likely that, in the first instance, he either found parts of the house in a poor state of repair or already undergoing continuing maintenance initiated by his predecessor for, soon after he inherited the house in 1486, his accounts tell of a phase of minor works. Again we are contending with documents dated only by the library catalogues. As before, however, we may risk the assumption that the dating is correct. Certainly the three relevant documents given the date 1487 in a bundle of vouchers at Lambeth Palace Library are inscribed, “knolle p[er] J Judde”.²⁵⁹ John Judde was employed as Keeper of the park and manor of Knole by Archbishop Bourchier in 1481 and left a will dated at Tunbridge in 1492.²⁶⁰ Indeed his name appears in the Receiver’s accounts for the year 1486-87 so we can, at the very least therefore, be content that the date of 1487 given to the bills fits into this narrow bracket.²⁶¹ Finally we may also note that the associated collection of documents does contain papers bearing the date 1487 and whilst they are in a different hand and relating to different estates they may, nonetheless, offer a confirmation of the date.²⁶²

Certainly we find confirmation in the Receiver’s accounts that 1486-87 saw a period of small scale repairs costing 33s. and a few pence (the document is too damaged to see the full exact figure) but they record no details of the work.²⁶³ For that we must

²⁵⁸ A. Hussey, ‘Ford Manor House and Lands in 1647’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXVI (1904), p. 123 Gough, pp. 251-268

²⁵⁹ LPL ED 1249-16 contains this version of the inscription. The other relevant documents inscribed with similar wording are LPL ED 1249-13 and LPL ED 1249-15 The date is recorded in Sayers, J. (1965), p. 35

²⁶⁰ Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourghier*, pp. 72-74 Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 193

²⁶¹ LPL ED 1248 (f.13v) This document can be securely dated for the inscription on f.1 recording that the accounts were made in the time of Archbishop Thomas Bourchier has subsequently been crossed through and the name of John Morton added in the same hand. They must, therefore, have been compiled in the year 1486-87.

²⁶² For example, LPL ED 1249-10, LPL ED 1249-11 LPL ED 1249-14

²⁶³ LPL ED 1248 (f.13v)

turn to the Lambeth Palace Library's undated vouchers. These documents witness a series of minor repairs which, in the most part, were carried out on the house's roofs:

"Knolle p[er] J Judde

Item that hank tyler ys owyng for tylyng oppon the bakhowsse the	
kechen the halle ower the garne ²⁶⁴ mendyng of the pestre ²⁶⁵ for	
dabyng on the kechen the stabyls for v dayys werk takyng a day vj d	
s u m ma	ij s. vj d
It for hys chyld v dayys to serve hym ij d a day s u m ma	x d
It for C lathe	v d
It for ij C roff naylle	ij d

Sm' – iij s. xj d.".²⁶⁶

In other documents amongst the 1487 bundle Hank Tyler reappears again.²⁶⁷ We also find references to the purchase of the materials and it is clear that although these were only repairs they required a large quantity of tiles; for example, "Item payd for viij C and a half tylle for reparasyons at Knoll – ij s. x d.".²⁶⁸ Mostly, however, these few accounts record work in the park, particularly, it seems, replacement of the enclosing paling and the park gate; "Item payd for a honging lok, ij stapyls a hyng for the park gat of Knoll – xiiij d.".²⁶⁹

In thirteen years, therefore, Knole remained substantially unchanged. The repair works that Morton ordered kept the house habitable, and it is clear that he enjoyed and regularly stayed at the property. Beyond this evidence for a new roof and minor internal repairs, however, Morton's tenure reveals no further indication of major works. Indeed,

²⁶⁴ In other associated documents (eg. LPL ED 1249-13) we find references to, "tylyng oppon the barne". We can only assume, therefore, that the word "garne" as used here is a misspelling of "barne".

²⁶⁵ The exact meaning and spelling of this word are unclear in the original.

²⁶⁶ LPL ED 1249-16

²⁶⁷ LPL ED 1249-13

²⁶⁸ LPL ED 1249-13

²⁶⁹ LPL ED 1249-13

what little evidence of building activity there is comes early in his reign. The accounts of 1486-87 that record the work of Hank Tyler and others are the only record of Morton's involvement with the built fabric of Knole. In the subsequent years the Receiver's accounts make no further mention of repairs but we may assume, as we have before, that this is positive evidence of a cessation of construction or alteration rather than a quirk of the documentary record.

Like his predecessor before him Morton was to die at Knole, sheltering from the plague that infected the city of London in 1500.²⁷⁰ Therefore, the house that passed to his replacement in office, Archbishop Henry Deane, in May of the following year was to all intents and purposes the house that had, in turn, been left to him by Thomas Bouchier. Morton's architectural patronage had been felt elsewhere and his legacy as a builder can be in little doubt, but at Knole he had seemingly remained inactive, content only to ensure the house was kept in a stable and habitable condition.

2) Archbishop Henry Deane

Henry Deane's arrival on the primatial throne heralded a change for the see of Canterbury. For the first time in 135 years Henry VII had elevated an archbishop to the office from amongst the ranks of the monastic orders since most of Deane's ecclesiastical career had been spent as prior of Llanthony Secunda Priory in Gloucester. Yet Deane was no provincial ecclesiast. He had also served as a royal councillor, was admitted to Lincoln's Inn – a testament to his knowledge of the common law – and, from September 1494, was chancellor of Ireland.²⁷¹ He was, therefore, active at court indeed it was Henry VII own personal regard for Deane that had fuelled his advance to the top of the church so he must have had a first-hand knowledge of the artistic endeavours of his peers, the fashions of the day and the luxurious trappings of high office.

Unlike his predecessors, however, Deane was not a man known for his artistic or his architectural patronage. He was not, it should be said however, inactive for he had

²⁷⁰ Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John', p. 425

²⁷¹ C. Harper-Bill, 'Deane, Henry (c.1440-1503)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 15, (Oxford: 2004), pp. 634-635

commissioned a new gatehouse at Llanthony Secunda Priory, upon which he displayed his own coat-of-arms, and he had rebuilt the choir at Bangor Cathedral.²⁷² But unlike his immediate forebear he was a conservative and infrequent builder and his works display none of the progressiveness of Morton's at Lambeth or Hatfield. Nor were they necessarily works intended for the enjoyment and comfort of Deane's own person for, despite their attendant intercessorial advantages, they were benefices to his institutions rather than palaces for his own use.

As Archbishop of Canterbury, Deane showed no more inclination towards architecture although tradition has it that he rebuilt much of the palace at Otford. Indeed, it has been claimed that, "Deane's enthusiasm for architectural refurbishment [...] was manifested in his rebuilding of the archiepiscopal manor of Otford".²⁷³ Here, however, we cannot share the view that he was an enthusiastic builder and nor can we consider him as one of Otford's patrons. Certainly it is an oft-repeated belief that, "He rebuilt a great part of the manor house", but any evidence for such has remained elusive and has not come to light during the course of this study.²⁷⁴ Lambarde did not credit Deane with its building and the Receiver's records for the Otford bailiwick do not evidence him as a builder.²⁷⁵ The payments for the years 1500-01 and 1501-02 suggest repair works at the archbishop's rectory in Northfleet, to barns at both Northfleet and Bexley and building works at rented properties in Wrotham, but any reference to construction on any significant scale at Otford is absent.²⁷⁶

If, however, at Otford any building activity by Deane may be questioned by some, his inactivity at Knole seems more certain. Deane's name is not found anywhere in connection with Knole the antiquaries who have been most quick to provide attributions and declare patronages elsewhere remained silent in this regard and amongst his registers, fragmentary though they are, and in the collections of State Papers we find no mention of Knole or even evidence of his presence there. Indeed, as far as can be concluded from the poor archive that Deane left, his time as archbishop

²⁷² Harper-Bill, 'Deane, Henry', p. 634

²⁷³ Harper-Bill, 'Deane, Henry', p. 635

²⁷⁴ W.F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. V, (London: 1867), p. 521 See also J. Bathurst Deane, 'The Will of Henry Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, Deceased 15 February, 1502-3', *Archaeological Journal*, 18 (1861), p. 260

²⁷⁵ Lambarde, pp. 459-468 TNA SC 6 HENVII 336 TNA SC 6 HenVII 337

²⁷⁶ TNA SC 6 HENVII 336 TNA SC 6 HenVII 337 Most of these payments are recorded in the latter document (SC 6 HENVII 337) and are thus datable to 1501-02.

was spent almost exclusively at Lambeth Palace and any journeys that he might have made to his west Kentish properties remain undocumented.

It follows, therefore, that Deane was a disinterested and disengaged owner for Knole. It seems unlikely that he commissioned building works there or undertook the sort of ‘architectural refurbishment’ that has been credited to him elsewhere.²⁷⁷ Certainly the Receiver’s accounts make no mention of any new construction and the few repairs they detail were no more extensive than making a new covered gate in the park at a small cost of 5s. 8d. and replacing the paling around the park and an adjoining piece of land called ‘*Knollondes*’. This was the sort of routine improvements and maintenance that occupied Deane’s local administrators but was unlikely to be the concern of the archbishop himself.²⁷⁸ It is to be regretted that the accounts for the following year, 1502-03, are lost. We must suspect, however, that they recorded nothing more extensive at either Knole or Otford than we have already seen between 1500 and 1502 for, when the surviving series resumes again in 1504-05, the year after Deane’s death, there is no suggestion that his successor had inherited a significant campaign of ongoing building or repairs.²⁷⁹ In short, therefore, there is no indication at all that Deane had done any more than fund the necessary day-to-day maintenance of his two properties and it can be said with some certainty that his tenure and his primacy made little mark on Knole and Otford.

Neither Morton nor Deane, therefore, can be considered as amongst the great builders of Knole or indeed Otford. Despite both acquiring reputations as builders it seems clear that, where they lived up to this image, the focus of their attentions lay elsewhere. Knole became a home for Morton and he was evidently prepared, when necessity demanded, to pay for its repairs and its upkeep. But he was not the ‘liberal’ builder that the history of Knole has recorded and we must conclude that little of the extant fabric owes its existence to his tenure. For Deane, Knole was just one of many properties that he inherited with his office. What little evidence there is suggests that he did not visit his Sevenoaks house, and unlike Morton before him, he did not adopt it as

²⁷⁷ Harper-Bill, ‘Deane, Henry’, p. 635

²⁷⁸ TNA SC 6 HENVII 336 TNA SC 6 HENVII 337

²⁷⁹ LPL ED 1251 (f.12r) The 1504-05 accounts survive only in draft form at Lambeth Palace Library. However, they suggest only minor works at Knole that included repairs to ‘*le derehouse*’ and further replacement of the park paling. They are not indicative of Deane leaving large scale ongoing works at either Knole or Otford.

regular residence. Whilst he too funded the essential works, he was, it seems, content to run his property *in absentia* and allow his steward and estate workers to manage the basic maintenance on his behalf. The seventeen years of their combined tenures were not, therefore, the period of great activity or architectural development at Knole or Otford that has previously been contended. Rather, at both properties the houses bequeathed to them by their predecessors were maintained but not substantially altered. Knole in 1503 was still largely the house of Archbishop Bouchier and Otford, it seems, remained the relatively small ancient moated site that had been passed down through successive archiepiscopal regimes.

Phase 2 B.2 – Archbishop Warham: Extending the House, 1504-1532

1) William Warham in Knole's Phasing

Henry Deane died at Lambeth on 15th February 1503.²⁸⁰ His successor was William Warham, the Bishop of London. Warham was translated to the primatial see in November 1503 and, by the time he was enthroned in March the following year, he had also been appointed to the office of Chancellor.²⁸¹ In contrast to his predecessor Deane's two-year reign, Warham was to become one of the longest-serving archbishops of Canterbury. Indeed, he remained on the archiepiscopal throne for almost twenty nine years, ample time during which to effect significant changes to his Kentish houses.

Archbishops Morton and Warham have been treated as one by many of the recent commentators on the house's development and this has confused the true picture. For example, Colvin broadly attributed the Outer Wicket Gate to, "one of Bouchier's successors in the archbishopric (probably Morton or Warham)", and Faulkner, without justifying his reasoning wrote, somewhat unconvincingly, of the works post-dating Bouchier that, "For convenience, these may be treated as one project carried out by Archbishop Warham at the same time as he was building a very similar mansion at Otford, not far away".²⁸² Oxford Archaeology hedged their bets even further and in their survey they employ a phasing that groups together the three archbishops, Morton, Warham and Cranmer.²⁸³ The approach that conflates the archbishops is understandable since the evidence is at once scarce and complex. Yet we are left with a period of fifty-two years during which we are not offered a distinction between very different building campaigns or architectural additions. This is not helpful because, as we have seen in the earlier discussions here, the periods of intense activity might only last for a few years,

²⁸⁰ Harper-Bill, 'Deane, Henry', p. 635

²⁸¹ J.J. Scarisbrick, 'Warham, William (1450? – 1532)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 57, (Oxford: 2004), p. 411

²⁸² *HKW*, Vol. IV, p. 218; Faulkner, p. 144; Faulkner's statement has in fact been proved correct by this thesis. However, his tone and use of the phrase "for convenience" suggests that his conclusion was not based on sound evidence.

²⁸³ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 55

certainly less than a decade at most. So, with the object of defining a narrower period of building activity, let us look now at Warham's contributions to Knole.

2) Warham the Builder

It has already been argued that Morton and Deane can be discounted as major patrons of work at Knole. Thus we should turn instead to William Warham as a possible candidate for the next major phase of construction. In doing so, the broad phasing given by earlier authors to the post-Bourchier works can be shown to be open to a more specific chronology. Warham did not have a reputation for building when he took his new office in Canterbury. Indeed, it was not until he was established as archbishop and already well into his sixties that he would begin the work at Otford for which he is most well-remembered as a patron (see pp. 111-124). Unlike his predecessors his rise to prominence and high ecclesiastical office had been sudden and unexpected and his career to date had arguably given him insufficient opportunity to engage in architectural patronage. By 1503, when he was translated from London to Canterbury, he had been a bishop for less than two years for he had only been elevated to the see of London in October 1501.²⁸⁴ He was already about fifty years old when preferment came – a doctor of canon law from Oxford University, he had spent much of his career to that point fulfilling a series of prominent, if largely unremarkable, commissions in ecclesiastical, secular and royal office. Significantly his work had allowed him to travel, taking him regularly to France and the Low Countries and as far afield as Riga and Rome.²⁸⁵ It is not clear, however, where he lived during those years, and furthermore, if he was an active builder at that time, inspired as others were by the architecture of the many countries he visited, then the evidence for it has not survived.

Nevertheless, in contrast both to his earlier life and to his immediate predecessor, as archbishop, Warham became a committed and highly-regarded builder. Unlike Deane, Warham quickly adopted Knole. As early as May 1504 the house was once again in use since a letter dated there on the 28th of that month survives amongst Henry

²⁸⁴ Scarisbrick, p. 411

²⁸⁵ Scarisbrick, p. 411

VII's Patent Rolls.²⁸⁶ It was not, however, until May of the following year that we first see Warham at Otford, a delay for which we cannot easily account, but which may reflect the fact that Knole was still the more desirable of the two houses.²⁸⁷ Both properties, however, continued to receive the archbishop regularly throughout his reign and prolonged stays can be witnessed from the many documents written at each that are now among the State Papers and in Warham's register.

3) Warham's Building Works at Knole

3a) 1504 – 1507: Upkeep and Repairs

It was Otford (Fig.13) that was famously to become Warham's favourite house and where he was to lavish much of the 30,000 that he claimed in his will to have spent on his palaces, but of the two houses it was at Knole that he began to build first.²⁸⁸ Works at Knole, however, began slowly, and in the first year of his tenure, 1504-05, comprised little more than minor repairs. The accounts show that in that year Warham paid for necessary upkeep in the manor of Knole including maintenance of "*le derehouse*". It is clear that at that time some of Knole's buildings were thatched since the accounts record the services of a thatcher. Warham spent a total of 7 16s. 2d. on the repairs.²⁸⁹ In relative terms when compared with the accounts of previous years this seems like a fairly substantial sum, but much of the expense, once again, went on replacing the park paling. Where we are able to see the individual costs from amongst the confusing evidence in this document (which appears to be the draft of a lost copy of the annual Receiver's roll) it seems that no more than about 9s. was spent on the repairs to the house and its ancillary buildings, including the deer-house.

²⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat. Henry VII*, II, p.358; The document does not specifically record Warham's presence at the house. Indeed, we cannot say for certain that it was Warham who produced the document. However, given that it was dated at Knole and is a record of state business we may make the assumption that it is evidence of the archbishop's location at that time.

²⁸⁷ *Cal. Pat. Henry VII*, II, p. 417

²⁸⁸ J. Gough Nichols – J. Bruce (eds.), *Wills from Doctors' Commons. A Selection of the Wills of Eminent Persons proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1495-1695*, Camden Society, Old Series 83 (London: 1863), p. 22

²⁸⁹ LPL ED 1251 (f.12r)

In the following year, 1505-06, the accounts record a similar scope and cost of works.²⁹⁰ Whilst the total payment was now 7 13 d., those repairs recorded to the house itself came to just 9s. 11d. Again, much of the total expense was directed at the park paling, an apparently continual problem for the estate staff. The house, however, also received the essential maintenance it required and the sum of 9s. 11d. was sufficient to pay for a carpenter, a labourer, a tiler, a plumber (or lead-worker) and a thatcher. In addition it also funded the supply and carriage of materials, specifically straw, timber, hasp staples, nails and other necessary items. It cannot have paid for anything more than minor works, but it is clear that even this relatively small sum could be stretched some distance.

3b) 1508 – 1525: Evidence for New Building at Knole

The Receiver's accounts for many of the following years have been lost. Some of those that survive, however, do show periods of apparently substantial building work and through them we can witness something of Knole's development. Amongst those accounts that cover the period from 1507 until Warham's death in 1533 there are three that record payments for the works at Knole.²⁹¹ These date from 1508-09, 1519-20 and 1524-25 (although there is some debate about the dates of the latter two documents which we will address as appropriate). Many of the accounts from the intervening years are, however, lost. The chronological gaps between the three documents are long enough to suggest that they represent three distinct and separate periods of work, yet it is also possible that they are snippets of evidence from one long ongoing construction phase. Each, however, records more substantial payments than were witnessed in the first three years of Warham's tenure (as discussed in the previous section) and we can be confident, therefore, that they are evidence of new building and not of repairs.

In the account for the year 1508-09 the following payments were recorded:

²⁹⁰ LPL ED 1253 (f.16r)

²⁹¹ TNA SC 6 HENVIII 1685 LPL ED 1364 LPL ED 1362

“[Margin] *Rep[ar]ac[i]ones*]

*Itm in denar[ius] p[ro] ip[su]m solut[em] pro div[er]s[is]
rep[ar]ac[i]onibus ib[ide]m hoc anno f[ac]tis viz. t[ame]n p[ro]
Sarrac[i]o[ne]s tabul[as] & meremij q[ua]m p[ro] cariagio bryke &
calc[is] combusti aceciam p[ro] clavis div[er]s[i] sort[is] empt[is] &
al[iis] nec[essariis] una c[u]m vad[iis] carpentar[ii] & al[iorum]
labora[r]iorum ib[ide]m laborant[ium] ut p[atet] libr[um] de
p[ar]tic[u]lis int[er] memo[randa] [ad] hui[us] anni remanent --- x.li.
viiij.s. viiiij.d. ob”.*²⁹²

Repairs

Item paid in cash for diverse repairs that were made this year in that place (i.e. Knole) namely for sawing boards timber, also for the carriage of brick and quicklime for buying different types of nails other necessary things together with the wages of the carpenters other labourers working in that place as is openly recorded in the book of particulars that is amongst this years records --- 10. 8s. 8 d.

The relatively large total cost of 10 8s. 8 d. must suggest more substantial works than had been undertaken in the previous years of Warham’s control since the total sum is more than twenty times the amount recorded in the accounts of 1505-06 (9s. 11d.).²⁹³ Supplies of bricks, boards and quicklime certainly point towards new building, not repairs. Although we are slightly hampered in any definite conclusion by the incomplete survival of the annual Receiver’s rolls, particularly the loss of records for the years directly preceding and following 1508-09, it seems legitimate to believe that the works of that year were part of a long-term project of building works. Comparison of this payment with those made during the works undertaken by Archbishop Bouchier in the previous century shows that the method of accounting is comparable. In Bouchier’s accounts, those that record relatively large

²⁹² TNA SC 6 HENVIII 1685

²⁹³ LPL ED 1253 (f.16r)

payments for both labour and building materials are representative of phases of significant building activity lasting several years. For that reason we can confidently point to the year 1508-09 as being towards the beginning of an extended period of transformation at Knole that created some of the ranges in the form that exists today.

The surviving Receiver's accounts do not record building works again until about 1519-20 and we are left, therefore, with a gap of ten years.²⁹⁴ Given our previous analysis it seems likely that the works of 1508-09 lasted beyond the end of that accounting period, but we cannot be certain how long they lasted nor whether 1519-20 should be considered as part of the same phase of works or as a distinctly new phase. The latter seems more likely however since there are surviving accounts for two of the intervening years and neither contains a mention of building works.²⁹⁵ The 1519-20 account suggests that this new phase of works was on a similar scale to those undertaken in 1508-09. They have the characteristic lack of detail found in all these accounts but nonetheless record a total cost of 12 5s. 9d. and the usual purchase of materials including tiles, lime, nails and other unspecified metalwork as well as the employment of tilers, carpenters and general labourers.²⁹⁶

The final series of recorded building payments made by Warham at Knole appears to date, as we will demonstrate, to 1524-25.²⁹⁷ However, the document is complicated. Whilst it adds substantially to our contention that widespread building work was undertaken by Archbishop Warham, it may also be considered confusing to the overall picture and we must, therefore, consider it critically before we discuss its contents. Its problems are numerous first, whilst clearly from the same administrative offices as the other accounts in the series, it records summary information for manors across

²⁹⁴ LPL ED 1364 This document is incomplete and, therefore, difficult to date. The catalogue (Sayers, p. 38) suggests a date of 1518-19, but admits that it is uncertain. However, there is one payment within the accounts that appears to have been made on the given date of 30th December 11 Henry VIII. Whilst we cannot be certain of the accuracy of this as dating evidence for the whole document it would, nonetheless, appear to suggest that it is of the year 1519-20 and not 1518-19 as previously contended.

²⁹⁵ TNA SC 6 HENVIII 1686 TNA SC 6 HENVIII 1687

²⁹⁶ LPL ED 1364

²⁹⁷ LPL ED 1362

the archiepiscopal estates, not just those in the Bailiwick of Otford, and amongst the costs noted is a specific list of building payments at each of his houses.²⁹⁸ Although only recording the payments in the same level of detail as we have encountered before it is unique in that it apparently provides a comparative record of works at each of his properties during the annual accounting period. In addition, to complicate matters further, it is only a draft of a lost final copy and it is fragmentary, bound in the incorrect order and, most significantly, is undated.

We must, therefore, first tackle the issue of the dating of what may be shown to be the final series of payments. The catalogue entry gives the document a date of 1508-09, although denotes some uncertainty in this assumption.²⁹⁹ Indeed there are a number of occasions where the date line has been left blank, in the form, “dat’ die anno Rex Henrici viij”.³⁰⁰ We know, therefore, that it is a Henrician document and thus may be Warham’s. However, such an early date seems unlikely since the year 1508-09 was the year of Henry VIII’s succession and yet the blank date line makes no reference to his predecessor despite its being, in regnal years, 24 Henry VII – 1 Henry VIII. Instead the evidence points towards a much later date. Amongst the accounts recorded in the document for the manor of Bexley it is stated that they were returned by Thomas Boleyn deputising for the Reeve of the manor, John Draper.³⁰¹ This it seems is the best indication of the actual date of the accounts since elsewhere Du Boulay has noted that Boleyn deputised for Draper in Bexley during 1524-25.³⁰² Although we cannot be completely certain that this is the correct date we may note that it is supported by the appearance in the records of several other named persons who held their offices during the 1520s but were not, as far as can be known, employed by Warham in 1508-09. For example, we see that Richard Parkhurst is listed

²⁹⁸ LPL ED 1362 (ff.2v – 3v)

²⁹⁹ Sayers, p. 38

³⁰⁰ LPL ED 1362 (f.3v)

³⁰¹ LPL ED 1362 (f.6v)

³⁰² Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 266

here as the Steward of the Household, a position he only held from 1522-31.

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With this evidence for the dating of the accounts to 1524-25 in mind, we might consider their contents. At Knole in that year Warham was employing the usual craftsmen and purchasing the usual supplies that appear throughout his other records: payments included wages for carpenter, masons, tilers and other unspecified labourers as well as the covering the cost of tiles, lime and nails.³⁰⁴ The total sum came to 26 6s. 2 d. which stands in contrast to the small amounts spent in 1508-09 and 1519-20. We must also consider that it is recorded separately from the costs of work, “*circa p[ar]cus de knoll*”, which totalled 4 11s. 3d. in that accounting period.³⁰⁵ The building payments are, therefore, a relatively large amount in comparison with the costs of previous years and suggests a substantial phase of alteration and construction.

The fragmentation of the documentary trail and the paucity of the information contained within the surviving accounts means that it is unclear which parts of the house were added, rebuilt or changed during these campaigns of work. Indeed, as we have already touched on, it is also unclear whether they represented a single prolonged and concerted period of activity or three separate phases. Nonetheless, we might speculate on the scope of the build and consider what elements of the extant fabric were added between 1508 and 1525.

3c) The Brown Gallery, Chapel Corridor, Pheasant Court, the Leicester Gallery and the East Range

In the phasing devised by Oxford Archaeology, Bouchier’s successors, Morton, Warham and Cranmer, are credited, amongst other works, with the remodelling of the east range around the Leicester Gallery (F.98) (Fig.81) and the Spangle Bedroom (F.103) (Fig.83). In addition they were also said to have built the ranges enclosing Pheasant Court, altering the buildings abutting the

³⁰³ LPL ED 1362 (f.2r) Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, p. 401

³⁰⁴ LPL ED 1362 (f.2v)

³⁰⁵ LPL ED 1362 (f.2v)

Duke's Tower and the Chapel. In between and connecting these two areas of redevelopment was a new long gallery, the Brown Gallery (F.110) (Fig.60).³⁰⁶ All are timber-framed which appears to have been characteristic of this phase of development and all of these spaces share similar features, most notably the elaborately moulded mullions of the timber windows and as such, all were most likely the creation of one patron, Archbishop Warham (Fig.08).

Rosalys Coope speculatively suggested that the Brown Gallery could be dated to between 1487 and 1500.³⁰⁷ However, given the lack of evidence for works attributable to Archbishop Morton, we might suggest instead that the gallery was created in the early-sixteenth century by Warham. Certainly by c.1516-18 there was a gallery at Knole. A voucher amongst a bundle dated to those years records that:

“The xij daye of desember

It[em] for workyng hat Knole oppo' the galary and owe[r] the gat and oppo' doctor Wollys chamber for a day[es] worke for my m[aster] – vj d.”³⁰⁸

We cannot be certain, of course, that this was the Brown Gallery but the structure's apparent date certainly suggests that it is contemporary with this document and may have been the building referenced by these payments.

The Brown Gallery was part of a two-storied range and must be considered in relation to the arcaded corridor below that gives direct access from the Great Hall to the Chapel. The two appear, externally, to be of one piece. Patrick Faulkner certainly concluded that they must have been built as a single phase of work.³⁰⁹ However, the building archaeology suggests that the ground and first floors of the range were the product of two separate

³⁰⁶ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, pp. 55-56

³⁰⁷ R. Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': It's Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), p. 4

³⁰⁸ LPL ED 1257-3

³⁰⁹ Faulkner, pp. 135-136

campaigns of work. The original single storey corridor pentice had an open timber arcade of four centred arches and a shallow pitched roof. This roof was subsequently removed and the framing of its north wall built up to accommodate and support the new structure above.³¹⁰ It is difficult to associate these additions within a defined chronological pattern. Given the evidence we have so far noted, however, it is possible that the single storey corridor pentice was built during the first of Warham's phases of work, that which included the years 1508-09 for which we have accounts, and was heightened with the construction of the Brown Gallery between about 1516 and 1520, a campaign of works evidenced by the surviving voucher (quoted above) and the Receiver's account.³¹¹ This phasing broadly fits the appearance of the building on stylistic grounds. The four centred arched arcade appears to be of the early-sixteenth century, and the geometric batoned ceiling of the Brown Gallery may also be dated to early in that century (Fig.61). The Brown Gallery ceiling seems to be contemporary with the rest of the structure for, where it is repeated in the Spangle Bedroom (F.103), it passes behind and presumably therefore predates early-seventeenth century panelling. Stylistically the ceiling is correct for an early-sixteenth century date and is similar to the Chapel ceiling at The Vyne, c. 1525-26.³¹² Furthermore, the moulding profile of the ceiling batons in the Brown Gallery is similar to that of the mullions and transoms of its timber window frames. These in themselves are similar to those in the windows in the long gallery at Croydon Palace and although Oxford Archaeology have suggested a late fifteenth-century date for the windows at Knole there seems to be no reason not to attribute them to the beginning of the next century.³¹³

³¹⁰ Dixon, pp. 25-28

³¹¹ TNA SC 6 HENVIII 1685 LPL ED 1257-3 LPL ED 1364

³¹² Howard Wilson, pp. 89-91

³¹³ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 44 Patrick Faulkner has suggested that the Brown Gallery at Knole and the gallery at Croydon were the work of Archbishop Bouchier. He based his reasoning on the similarity of the mullion profiles in both buildings. Bouchier, however, is an unlikely candidate for the builder of the Brown Gallery and, therefore, we might also question Faulkner's conclusions about Croydon. Faulkner regarded the probable patrons at Croydon as Stafford, Kemp, Bouchier and Morton – allowing Bouchier the greatest credit. Yet he disregarded the possibility of Warham's involvement. We know, however, that in 1524-25 Warham spent 10 15s. on building work at Croydon (LPL ED 1362 (f.3r)). The scope of the works is unspecified, but it raises the possibility that it was Warham and not Bouchier who was responsible for the gallery windows. Faulkner, pp. 135-136

If we accept this broad phasing then we may consider the development of neighbouring and associated buildings. At its west end the Brown Gallery range abuts the timber framed tower housing the Great Staircase (G.123). The stair itself is evidently of the early-seventeenth century since it is resplendent with the arms and symbols of the Sackville family and dates to the occupancy of Thomas Sackville between 1604 and 1608.³¹⁴ It seems likely, therefore, that the tower is of the same date. This was certainly the conclusion drawn by Oxford Archaeology and we might note that the window mullions are of ovolo type, indicative of a late sixteenth or early-seventeenth century date – very different in style from those of the Brown Gallery.³¹⁵ Yet the Brown Gallery itself and the Chapel corridor below terminate neatly at the junction with the staircase tower and there is no indication that either has been foreshortened. Therefore, although the inaccessibility of the framing of the two structures makes it difficult to be certain, we might suggest that the tower was part of those phases of work that also saw the construction of the Brown Gallery range or, at the least, contains the remnants of an earlier building within its east wall. If this was so then it is possible that Warham constructed his own predecessor to the Sackville staircase on the same or similar footings. However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the type of staircase comprising straight flights around a central newel were rare and the idea of the great stair had not yet developed.³¹⁶ Still more common in Warham's day were spiral staircases built into smaller turrets.³¹⁷ It seems probable, therefore, that the main staircase providing the principal vertical movement from the hall to the upper floors remained on the south-west corner of the Great Hall where, as we have already suggested, it had been located by Archbishop Bouchier's builders.

Instead we might assume that the Brown Gallery and Chapel corridor abutted a range projecting south that stood on similar footings to the present Ballroom block (G.146 F.138). We have already contended that the layout of

³¹⁴ Town, *A House 'Re-Edified'*

³¹⁵ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 32

³¹⁶ Howard, pp. 83-88

³¹⁷ Howard, p. 83

this part of the house was different in Bouchier's Knole to the plan that exists today. It is likely, therefore, that it was Warham who created the new arrangement of chambers that included this range and its predominantly timber-frame construction is in keeping with the early sixteenth-century phase of work. However, because the east wall of the Ballroom block was apparently rebuilt by a later owner there is little physical dating evidence with which to confirm this hypothesis. Philip Dixon's survey suggested that the range was of the sixteenth rather than the fifteenth century since at its north end it is built over the footings of an earlier wall aligned east west that divided Water Court and Pheasant Court and abutted the Great Hall at its westernmost point.³¹⁸ This was the wall against which the chapel corridor pentice was built and which still forms the south wall of that range. Furthermore, the bay-window on the east side of the Poet's Parlour (G.146) has mullions and transoms with a moulding profile similar to those found in the Brown Gallery and Pheasant Court Rooms, both also creations of Warham's carpenters. The bay-window is canted and has five sides which is an unusual feature, but is consistent with the bays of the French Library (G.142). Framing the bay-windows of both these rooms are large four-centred arches with pierced spandrels.³¹⁹ The similarity between the windows of the Poet's Parlour and the French Library must suggest that they are of similar dates and it seems most likely that that date was in the early-sixteenth century. For that reason we might conclude that it was Warham's builders who constructed the Ballroom block thereby altering the arrangement of the house's state chambers.

Warham's building phases must then also have included the remodelling of the chambers to the north of Duke's Tower – known now as the Pheasant Court Building which has on the ground floor the French Library (G.142) and above it the Pheasant Court Room (F.133). Bouchier's pre-existing timber building was removed and the Pheasant Court Building constructed in its

³¹⁸ Dixon, p. 24

³¹⁹ Oxford Archaeology, however, have dismissed the Poet's Parlour window as a later imitation (Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, p. 43). Whilst, therefore, we cannot be certain of the window's age we might reflect that it was concealed by panelling during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Fig. 111), the periods when, we might suggest, it is most likely that such 'gothic' reimagining may have been undertaken.

place. The new building appeared largely as it may be seen today. It is of timber-framed construction with double canted bay-windows facing to the north. On the first floor, however, the chamber was originally jettied into Pheasant Court, a feature that has since been disguised by underbuilding in stone.³²⁰ The windows themselves have mullions and transoms with a moulding profile similar to those of the Brown Gallery and the Poet's Parlour and as we have already remarked the five-sided canted bay-window of the French Library (G.142) is consistent with the bay-window of the latter. These features must suggest, once again, that they are of the same building phase. On the ground floor in the French Library each light has a four centred head with pierced spandrels, but on the floor above in the Pheasant Court Room (F.133) the window heads are of a more elaborate cinquefoil type, also with pierced spandrels suggestive of a hierarchical prominence of the first floor over the ground floor. In both rooms the ceilings are panelled with a square coffered pattern. Each large square panel is defined by timber ribs and is quartered with smaller ribs (Fig.84). The ribs are all moulded and share a similar profile to the mullions and transoms of the windows of these rooms. Both the windows and the ceilings, therefore, must have been part of Warham's original phase of construction of these spaces.³²¹

To the east of Pheasant Court the phase of works also witnessed some remodelling of the ranges. The block containing, on the first floor, the Organ Room (F.125 – F.127 – the division between these two spaces is modern) (Fig.58) must have been part of Bouchier's build for the viewing window in the wall adjoining the Chapel at first floor level suggests that this space was built at the same time as the Chapel as a private closet, oratory or pew from which the archbishop might partake in the religious functions of the Chapel. To the east the range is formed of the timber framed wall of the Men's Court Building, the Phase 1 B building that we have argued before was part of the earliest phases of work. The west wall of the range, however, is fenestrated in

³²⁰ Dixon, p. 17

³²¹ Philip Dixon has suggested that the first floor chamber, the Pheasant Court Room (F.133) was originally designed to be open to the roof structure because there is evidence of chamfering on the rafters and dormer windows in the roof structure. This seems unlikely, however, since the design of the ceiling of that room is consistent with the early-sixteenth century, suggesting that the ceiling is a feature contemporary to the construction phase of this building. Dixon, pp. 17-18

the style typical of Warham's build and the mullions and transoms again show the distinctive moulding profile that we have also seen in the Brown Gallery and Pheasant Court Building.

Warham's remodelling continued along the east range of the house. The Brown Gallery and the Ballroom range had in part been added to provide access through the building to new first floor suites along the east side of the house. Here timber-framed first floor ranges were built over the masonry ground floor storey that survived although had been much altered since Bouchier's day (Fig.85). To the north and south of the east end of the Brown Gallery Warham added new apartments. Those to the south (F.111 F.112 F.113 F.115) were placed in the constricted space between the gallery and the Chapel and were a relatively small suite of rooms but they were lit from both the east and west. The windows to the west overlooking Men's Court share the distinctive moulding profile in the mullions and transoms that is a theme of Warham's works. They were rooms of middling status, not very large, but well lit and warmed by fireplaces.

To the north of the Brown Gallery the new ranges (F.94 F.98 F.99 F.100 F.101 F.103 F.104 F.105 F.106) were probably of higher status. They were independently served by their own long gallery, the Leicester Gallery (F.98 – although, in its original form, it also included F.104 F.105 F.106). The Leicester Gallery (Fig.81) must have been built during the same phases of work as the Brown Gallery – it shares the same mullion and transom details in the windows of its western wall and, when we remove the seventeenth century partitions put in to create the China Closet at its south end, we find that it also shares similar dimensions to the Brown Gallery – the Brown Gallery is 26.46m x 3.57m whilst the Leicester is 27.20m x 4.35m – which suggests that the two spaces were built at the same time and for the same broad purpose. We can be certain that the Leicester Gallery was built as a long gallery and was not originally partitioned since its fireplace is positioned exactly halfway along its original length.

The fireplaces in this range, along with the window details and the batoned ceiling of the Spangle Bedroom (F.103), which we have discussed above, provide the best dating evidence. All point to the early-sixteenth

century. Although several of the fireplaces throughout the range were given new, fashionable overmantles by Thomas Sackville during his refurbishment of 1604-8, the earlier surviving fireplaces in the Leicester Gallery (Fig.82) and the Spangle Bedroom are typical of Warham's work elsewhere. Indeed, they may be usefully compared to the surviving fireplaces in the standing corner tower at Otford (Fig.14) which have four centred arches, hollow-chamfered jambs and hollow spandrels. However, perhaps more useful still is a comparison with the fireplaces at Maidstone Palace (Fig.104). Like those at Knole all have four-centred arches and are stylistically similar, but at Maidstone the spandrels contain Warham's arms, clearly indicative of his work at that house. They are also similar, although not identical, to the fireplace of the Pheasant Court Room (F.133), which, as we have discussed, is also datable to Warham's tenure. Here, we might observe, the fireplace displays a piece of graffiti apparently depicting the archiepiscopal pallium (Fig.86) which adds further weight to the suggestion that this four-centred fireplace type is of the archbishops' time. Although four-centred arch fireplaces have a long history and indeed may also be found in parts of the building securely attributable to Archbishop Bouchier (e.g. the Bouchier Room – F.155) it seems most likely, given the similarities and the supporting evidence noted, that the Leicester Gallery and Spangle Bedroom fireplaces are of the early-sixteenth century and reflect Warham's building phase at Knole.

3d) Remodelling the Kitchen

The 1508-25 phase of building initiated by Archbishop Warham also saw changes made to the service ranges that brought about the shortening of the Kitchen (G.99) at its west end. This work expanded the size of the Kitchen Lobby or serving area (G.98) that separated the kitchens from the Great Hall (G.121) and created a suite of low status rooms above it, now called the Pigeon Lofts (F.87 – F.89 S.99 – S.100). The changes to the Kitchen caused one of its large fireplaces to be dissected by an inserted timber-framed wall (Fig.38). The wall corresponds closely to the join of the two roof structures above – the moulded arch braced roof of the Kitchen and the plainer trusses of

the Pigeon Lofts to the west.³²² It suggests, therefore, that Warham's phase of work also saw major re-roofing of the kitchen range.

Although there is no specific documentary record of this work the attribution to Warham seems clear. In the Kitchen Lobby to the west of the inserted wall the ceiling joists have an ogee and hollow-chamfered moulding profile and appear stylistically to be of the early-sixteenth century. The inserted wall, therefore, can be no later than the date of the ceiling.

In the north wall of the Kitchen Lobby (G.98) a stone door leads through to what is now called the Queen's Court Flat (G.85). This door can only have been put in at the same time or after the insertion of the kitchen wall. To the south of the lobby another stone door connects with the later store room (G.122). Before the construction of the store room this was an outside door. Both doors share a distinct double ogee moulding profile which is identical to a surviving stone door in the remains of Warham's brick gatehouse at Otford (Fig.15). This suggests that they were produced by Warham's masons and that a certain sharing of labour took place between the two sites. In addition, all these doors are also similar to the door providing access to the Chapel undercroft (L.50) from the corner of the Pheasant Court Building. It is clear that this too was a later insertion since a newel stair in the same position was removed to form the new access and it is likely, therefore, that it was part of the same phase of works and thus, chronologically, links the remodelling of the kitchens with the remodelling of Pheasant Court.

4) William Warham and Otford Palace

Despite his work at Knole it is generally acknowledged that Archbishop Warham's great architectural legacy was his rebuilding of Otford Palace (Fig.13). Although that house has remained on the sidelines of this thesis so far, it seems right that we should consider its development here. The two houses are less than four miles apart, Otford standing to the north of Knole, and their close proximity and shared

³²² Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, fig. 32

administrative histories suggest that they should be discussed in relationship to each other. More important is that it was built by Warham at the same time as he was extending Knole. As we will go on to see the massive rebuilding at Otford did not come, therefore, at the expense of his other houses. On the contrary, we will suggest in this section that the functions of the two houses complemented each other and each was valued by the archbishops for very different reasons.

Otford's early history is uncertain although it is clear that by the time of the Domesday Book in 1086 it was already in the possession of the Archbishop of Canterbury.³²³ It was not a large house; before Warham's intervention it may perhaps be described more correctly as a manor house rather than a palace. Despite being added to by many of its archiepiscopal owners, Otford was probably no larger than the archbishops' other house at Charing by the end of the fifteenth century.³²⁴ The Receiver's accounts detail something of the building's phases. Alongside payments for the works at Knole are also records of the expenditure at Otford, and it is clear that in the period covered by this study, but before its great rebuilding by Warham, it was Archbishop Bouchier whose influence could be felt most at the house. The details of those documents cannot be considered in detail here since we do not know enough about the appearance of the earlier house to make sense of the building accounts. However, it is important, nonetheless, to note that Bouchier spent large sums of money at Otford.³²⁵ As at Knole, Bouchier's successors, Morton and Deane, cannot be shown to have spent any money on the house at Otford. A much clearer sense of Warham's house is, however, achievable despite the ruinous state in which it now survives because it was well documented in its day and has subsequently been the subject of extensive archaeological survey.³²⁶ Therefore, given that the building works on this house parallel the work at Knole and given that the two houses were so close together it is useful to consider the palace at Otford as an important comparison to the house at Knole. Over the following pages, therefore, we will consider briefly the evidence for Warham's building works, question the relationship between Knole and Otford and elucidate Warham's motives for such excessive expenditure on both houses at once.

³²³ B. Philp et al., *Excavations in the Darent Valley, Kent*, (Dover: 1984), p. 137

³²⁴ Philp et al., p. 165

³²⁵ In the accounting year 1460-61, for example, Bouchier paid 21 15s. 4 d. on building near the chapel at Otford LPL ED 1243

³²⁶ Philp et al., p. 159

In his will, written in 1530, Archbishop Warham recorded that:

*“Nam in maneriis et domibus meis jure ecclesiæ meæ ad me pertinentibus jam de novo edificatis, constructis, reparatis et resarcitis ad triginta millia librarum sterlingorum sicut me Deus adjuvet”.*³²⁷

For in the manors and houses which currently belong to me according to the law of the church I have spent thirty-thousand pounds sterling on new buildings, building works, repairs and refurbishments so help me God

The records do not survive with which to verify his claim that he had spent 30,000 on his building works, but it is clear that his expenditure must have been on a huge scale. Those accounts that do survive, however, evidence that he spent money at many of his houses and that work at Otford did not occur at the expense of other projects.³²⁸ Yet the unprecedentedly grand scale on which he built at Otford must suggest that this swallowed most of his outlay.

The archbishop's original manor house had stood on a site in the southern part of the palace complex, constricted on all sides by a surrounding moat ditch.³²⁹ Compared with the house that it would later become the original building was relatively small but Warham's building works ensured that it was to become one of the largest and most important houses in the country. Warham's new house occupied a site of approximately 15,811 square metres, dwarfing its main contemporary rival Hampton Court Palace at 13,158 square metres.³³⁰ Like Thomas Wolsey at Hampton Court, Warham also built his palace in the most fashionable style of its day. New galleries, towers and gatehouses enclosed two large courtyards, the outer of which was much larger than even Hampton

³²⁷ TNA PROB 11 24

³²⁸ LPL ED 1362 (ff.2v 3v)

³²⁹ Philp et al., p. 159

³³⁰ Calculations based on measurements given in Philp et al., pp. 160–166. Otford is said to have been 163m N-S x 97m E-W whilst Hampton Court Palace was 102m N-S x 129m E-W (although Philp has excluded the length of Hampton Court's Chapel from this measurement).

Court's Base Court and in the Inner Court, "standethe the Hale invironed aboute with Galeries and Towers and Turrette of Stone and the Chapell embatiled and parte covered with leade and dyvers other houses of office ... wherein be lxxi chambers with chimnyes whereof xviii selide with waynscott and fower above with knotte gilt".³³¹ It was, as a surveyor in the early-sixteenth century said, "verye pleasunte to the prospecte and view of the said sighte".³³²

For such a large and important building it is unfortunate that details of the building works are few. The Receiver's accounts for Warham's tenure are, as we have already seen, fragmentary and give little insight into the works process. Indeed the only mention of the activities at Otford appears in the accounts for 1524-25 when 80 10s. 7d. was paid for unspecified building works.³³³ Whilst we might assume that this payment came towards the end of the rebuilding process it does little to aid our understanding of the phases of work undertaken by Warham's builders, although it is certainly indicative of the scale of the enterprise.

For that reason it is difficult to be certain of the date bracket during which Otford was rebuilt, although it is often said that work had begun by 1514.³³⁴ In 1514 Warham sent a touching letter to his friend Desiderius Erasmus who was suffering from kidney stones. "My dear Erasmus", he wrote:

"what is the point of stones in your frail physique? What could one build upon this rock? You are not, I imagine, building fine houses, or anything like that. Wherefore, since stones are not your line of business,

³³¹ Sevenoaks, Sevenoaks Library, Gordon Ward Notebooks: Otford, Vol. II This description of the palace at Otford is taken from a survey of the house and manor made in the first half of the sixteenth century. It survives now only as an early-twentieth century transcript made by Major C. Hesketh and copied in 1927 by Gordon Ward, a local historian in Sevenoaks. The original was said, at that time, to have been in private hands in London although its present location is unknown. The document gives no clear date and whilst Ward suggested that it was written in 1515-16, Hesketh dated it to 1547. Here we can be no more certain about the date, but we might note that on p.4 of the transcript the name 'R. Moulton' appears as a tenant of lands in Otford. There is a will from the Perogative Court of Canterbury (TNA PROB 11 24) for a Robert Multon of Otford dated 1532. It is unfortunate for our purposes that Robert Multon left his land in Otford to his son, also called Robert. However, we might further note that one of the overseers of the will was John Milles of Chevening who is also mentioned on p.10 of the survey transcript. At the very least, therefore, we can conclude that the survey is likely to be of the first decades of the sixteenth century.

³³² Sevenoaks, Sevenoaks Library, Gordon Ward Notebooks: Otford, Vol. II

³³³ LPL ED 1362 (f.3v)

³³⁴ See for example Philp et al., p. 138

be sure to get rid of your superfluous burden as soon as you can spend money to have these stones taken away unlike me, who am spending money every day to have stones brought to my buildings”.³³⁵

Warham is not specific about his building project in his letter but we might assume, as others have, that it is principally to Otford that he refers. Indeed, building work on the archbishop’s mansion must have been underway by the time he wrote the letter in 1514 for only four years later, in 1518, the palace was complete enough to host the papal ambassador, Cardinal Campeggio, who was on his way to negotiate the peace policy that culminated later that same year in the Treaty of London.³³⁶ Accompanied by Warham, the ambassador travelled through Kent to Otford attended by a retinue of, “a thousand horses, many in armor and gold chains”.³³⁷ The Archbishop was an obliging host and entertained the Cardinal for two days in the grand surroundings of his new palace at Otford, “during which time the archbishop made him good and great cheer, and diverse pleasures and goodly pastimes”.³³⁸

Warham, however, had probably not finished building when the Cardinal arrived for there is evidence that building work was still ongoing two years later when Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon stayed at Otford overnight on 21st May during their journey towards the great Anglo-French conference at the Field of Cloth of Gold in June 1520.³³⁹ At the time of their arrival at his house Warham was still employing masons there, perhaps in a frantic effort to complete the mansion before the visit of the royal party. In the weeks after their departure, however, there were still workmen evidently engaged on the building projects at Otford so Warham’s works, it seems, were still not complete. On Corpus Christi Day 1520 (Thursday 7th June), a few weeks after the king had left the house (and the day of his meeting near Guines with Francis I),

³³⁵ Erasmus Ep. 286 see Mynors Thomson, Vol. 2, pp. 276-277

³³⁶ Clarke & Stoyel, p. 106; T.F. Mayer, ‘Campeggi [Campeggio], Lorenzo (1471/2 – 1539)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 9, (Oxford: 2004), p. 871

³³⁷ *L&P*, II, ii, 4348

³³⁸ London, B.M. Harl. 433 (f.293) *L&P*, II, ii, 4333

³³⁹ J.G. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520*, (London: 1969), p. 209, Oxford, Bodleian MS. Ashmole 1116 (f. 100r) Henry VIII had previously stayed at Otford on 24th September 1514, *L&P*, II, ii, p. 1465

maisons working at Warham's palace were assaulted by a group of men. Eighteen of them, some of whom were servants in the employment of local families:

“apparaled in short cotys lityll beneth the poynt[es] swerd[es] and
bukelys and short daggers beryng also byllys and staves in their nekkys
and on their cappys eche of them sett a white rope and so most
unlawfully assembled them selffys and cam e to the Vylle of Otford the
day aboveseid to thintent onely to assaute dyv er s masons that were
there at that tyme retaynyd in the s er vice of my lorde of
Caunt[er]bury”.³⁴⁰

Receiving warning of the impending confrontation the masons were able to escape and hide. When their would-be assailants arrived in the town and found them gone they:

“in most riotous man[ner] went up and down in the seid ville from the
one end to thother saying that if the mett with eny of theseid masons the
wold hathe their flesshe and that now the cause of their comyng
wheruppon dyv er s Inh ab itant es of the seid town assembled them
self and cam unto them and adv er tised them to avoyd the town or els
hit shuld be supposed that they com w^t suche anombre rather to robbe
and spoyle my lorde of Caunt er bury place there then for eny other
cause and so they dep[ar]ted them”.³⁴¹

That Henry VIII and his Court stayed at Otford whilst building work was ongoing at the house may seem unusual, but it was certainly not without precedent. The royal party was often received at Hampton Court Palace where Thomas Wolsey built almost continuously with few pauses between 1515 and his fall in 1529.³⁴² Large-scale ongoing building works it seems did not necessarily make the house uninhabitable or

³⁴⁰ TNA STAC 2 31 147 The reason for this confrontation is unknown although it is possible that it was a local reaction to foreign workmen in employment at Otford.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² S. Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History*, (London: 2003), p. 16

undesirable. Indeed they may even have been considered a benefit to their patron for they visibly displayed the scale of his investment.

It is likely that Warham's new mansion was nearing completion by 1523. In that year Erasmus, who had by then seemingly been a guest on several occasions at the new house, wrote of Otford, in words that suggest he had witnessed the changes firsthand:

“Nor should I have found it very attractive before William Warham, the present archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, ... had built there on such a scale that he seemed not so much to have restored an old house as to have raised a new one from the ground, so little did he leave of the old palace beyond the walls of some hall or other and of the church”.³⁴³

Notwithstanding Erasmus's comments, however, it is apparent that work continued at Otford throughout the 1520s. As we have seen, the one reference to the building work at the house in the Receiver's accounts might be dated to 1524-25 and, whilst it is typically nonspecific about the scope of works, the cost of 80 10s. 7d. was substantial and suggests that significant work was still being carried out. The bulk of the project must, however, have been completed by that date for Warham himself said of Otford in the following year, 1526, that formerly the, “buildings were ruinous by neglect, but now sufficiently repaired and the great buildings with also the enclosure with towers new built and the various gardens enclosed”.³⁴⁴

We see then at Otford a building campaign, the main bulk of which lasted from about 1514 until 1526. It is interesting that the works here were contemporary with and ran in parallel to those at Knole. Although the fragmentary documentation gives no clear indication, it must be probable that the workforce employed at the two buildings was, to a degree at least, shared. It seems, on the face of it, surprising that Warham should invest so much at once in two great houses so close to each other, especially when Knole at that time was still relatively new. But the two were not mutually

³⁴³ Erasmus Ep. 1400 see Mynors Thomson, Vol. 10, p. 122

³⁴⁴ Canterbury, Ch. Ch. Cant. Reg. T. (f.272); Translation from Hesketh, ‘The Manor House at Otford’, p. 5

exclusive and work at one did not necessarily suggest abandonment or disfavour of the other.

It was for Warham a question of function, something we will address more fully in a later chapter. Whilst Knole acted as a secluded retreat away from main roads and passing traffic, Otford stood in a village, beside the road from London to Canterbury. Otford was, therefore, a visible building a place at which Warham could show himself off in the many ways afforded by a large house and grand architecture. Knole, on the other hand, was more private a house where the architecture reflected understated functions rather than a showy grandeur. This idea of differing functional purpose between two properties was not without precedent. During the same period in which Warham was building at Knole and Otford, Thomas Wolsey was paying for works at Hampton Court and York Place. For Wolsey, his two houses fulfilled very different roles. Hampton Court was the Cardinal's great country seat designed for entertaining royalty, whilst York Place was his administrative base in Westminster acting as an office from which to run his political and domestic affairs. That Henry VIII's reaction to the splendour of York Place was one of surprise when he took ownership of it in 1529 suggests, in contrast to Hampton Court, that he had not been a regular visitor to the house.³⁴⁵ Indeed, only one visit was recorded before Henry's acquisition of the property.³⁴⁶ Similarly, Otford acted as Warham's country pleasure palace. Ideally positioned next to a major overland transport route it was able to offer accommodation and entertainment to the many important travellers who journeyed through Kent on their way to and from the Continent. Royal and ambassadorial visits can be easily witnessed at Otford. We have already seen that Cardinal Campeggio was entertained there in 1518 and that Henry VIII and his Court stayed at Otford on their way to the Field of Cloth of Gold. At Knole, however, it is almost impossible to evidence events on such a scale or visitors of such importance. It was, instead, a house at which the archbishop could escape and distance himself from those sorts of activities. Warham, therefore, can have seen reason to invest in both Knole and Otford concurrently.

An investment in architecture was a sign of wealth, prestige and power, messages that cannot have been lost on Otford's passing travellers and welcomed guests.

³⁴⁵ S. Thurley, 'The domestic building work of Cardinal Wolsey', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, state and art*, S.J. Gunn P.G. Lindley (eds.), (Cambridge: 1991), p. 87

³⁴⁶ TNA OBS1 1419

Warham, whose position at court was increasingly precarious and in danger of being subsumed by Thomas Wolsey, perhaps saw his building programme as a way of both emphasising and protecting his dignity and standing. Wolsey was building his own palace at Hampton Court at exactly the same time and the competitive relationship that the two prelates displayed may be seen as manifest in the bricks and mortar of the two houses. Otford was designed on such a huge scale to impress. Yet whilst Warham may have won in terms of scale, Wolsey was certain, perhaps rightly so, that his palace was the more habitable of the two. Warham had chosen to build his Otford house on a site that was waterlogged, marshy and unhealthy and not an obvious choice as a location for a great building. In 1523 Wolsey wrote to Warham, who was then suffering a bout of ill health, to offer him, “a pleasaunt lodging in his mooste holsome maner of Hampton Courte” and to advise the archbishop to, “to make [his] abode in high and drye grounde as Knoll”.³⁴⁷ This quotation is taken from Warham’s response to Wolsey’s original letter (which is now lost) and, although J.J. Scarisbrick has noted that it reveals a new found warmth and respect between the two men, it also seems likely that Wolsey’s letter contained a veiled criticism of Warham’s new mansion at Otford.³⁴⁸ Wolsey perhaps found it strange that a man with such vast estates and almost unlimited potential building sites should choose such an unlikely location for his great architectural statement.

Warham, however, probably did not mind his rival’s criticism, for the site had other attractions for the archbishop. Otford held a close association with that most favoured of English saints, Thomas Becket. The stories that surrounded the palace were mostly apocryphal but were undoubtedly well known to Warham and his contemporaries. Some we find recalled in detail in William Lambarde’s *Perambulation of Kent* printed in 1576. Although Lambarde, writing in the Protestant tradition, was necessarily anti-papist and put a critical analysis on the stories, his account of Becket’s relationship with the palace is nonetheless worth quoting in full

“It was long since fancied, and is yet of two [*sic.* many beleueed, that Thomas Becket lay at the olde house at Otford, (whiche of long time

³⁴⁷ TNA SP 1 26

³⁴⁸ Scarisbrick, p. 413

belonged to the Archebishops, and whereof the hall and chapell onely do now remaine) and sawe that it wanted of fit spring to water it: that he strake his staffe into the drye grounde, (in a place thereof nowe called Saint Thomas Well) and that immediately water appeared, the whiche running plentifully, serueth the offices of the newe house till this present day: They say also, that as he walked on a time in the olde Parke (busie at his prayers) That he was much hindered in deuotion, by the sweete note and melodie of a Nightingale that sang in a bushe besides him, and that therefore (in the might of his holynesse) he inioyned, that from thenceforth no byrde of that kynde shoulde be so bolde as to sing there aboutes: Some men report likewise, that for as muche as a Smithe (then dwelling in the towne) had cloyed his horse, He enacted by like authoritie, that after that time no Smithe should thriue within the Parishe. Innumerable suche toyes, false Priestes have deuised, and fonde people (alas) haue beleueed, of this iolly Martyr, and Pope holy man: which for the unworthynesse of the thinges them selues, and for want of time (wherewith I am streightned) I neyther will, nor can, nowe presently recount".³⁴⁹

The accuracy and history of these stories is, of course, doubtful, but their remembrance by Lambarde attests to the power of the association between the saintly archbishop and the house at Otford. Warham must have been very aware of this connection. Indeed, Becket's Well, a natural spring housed in a conduit a few hundred meters to the north of the house, served as an extant reminder of the archbishop's miraculous discovery of water at the site. It was a substantial structure and may have served as a minor site of pilgrimage in its own right (especially since it stood next to the road followed by pilgrims to Canterbury). Furthermore, since the spring that made the site damp and the object of Wolsey's ridicule was also the spring that Becket had tapped with his staff, we might wonder whether Warham even considered this a benefit. It was, at the very least, a source of clean water and underground conduits, dated as Tudor during excavations of

³⁴⁹ Lambarde, pp. 460-461

the well in the 1950s, were certainly used to channel water from the spring and through the site of the palace.³⁵⁰

After performing his miracle at Otford, Becket was said to have made the house his home. As the archbishop ran into conflict with the King, Henry II, however, Otford became a point of contention between the two men. In Erasmus's words, "The only question at issue was a country retreat more suited to a man of God than to a king. The place is called Ortford *sic.*]"³⁵¹ The palace, explained Erasmus, became a central bargaining tool in the dispute between Becket and Henry II and it was believed that Henry II had required Becket to forfeit his manor at Otford as security for a loan. It is possible that Warham or someone in his household recounted this story to Erasmus during one of his stays with the archbishop, perhaps even at Otford itself. Certainly there can be very little doubt that Warham knew the story himself.

Building near springs was not unusual since they offered a reliable water source. There are also, for example, springs at Knole. However, although it may simply be construed as coincidence, it is worth noting nonetheless that there is some precedent amongst the archbishops of Canterbury for choosing sites with springs associated with English saints. The archiepiscopal residence at Ford which John Morton has been credited with rebuilding was located in a small river valley fed by a stream and with several springheads in the immediate vicinity. Of these, the spring to the west of the archbishop's house and within metres of the property is known as St. Ethelburga's Well. The name of the well only appeared in print for the first time in 1887 so it is impossible to know the origins and age of the association. The area itself, however, had a long-standing tradition well known in the Middle Ages that the seventh century Saxon King Ethelbert had built a palace in the countryside near Reculver. St. Ethelburga was King Ethelbert's daughter and it is easy to see that a connection may have been made between the known story of the Saxon King and the spring at Ford. Furthermore, it is possible that the Saxon royal palace stood on or near the site of the archbishop's house.³⁵² The actual site of the early palace is unknown and the presumed location elsewhere in Reculver has failed to yield any archaeological evidence of Saxon habitation. Saxon artefacts have, however, been found at Ford. There is of course no documentary record

³⁵⁰ F.R.J. Pateman, 'St. Thomas À Becket's Well, Otford', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LXX (1956), p.172

³⁵¹ Erasmus Ep. 1400 see Mynors Thomson, Vol. 10, p. 122

³⁵² Gough, p. 252

for the Saxon history of the site but, whilst the first evidence of archiepiscopal residence at Ford comes from no earlier than the late-fourteenth century, the manor itself had certainly been granted to the see of Canterbury before the end of the eleventh century.³⁵³ We can, therefore, only speculate but it must, nonetheless, be worth suggesting that Morton knew of the connection and like Warham appreciated and valued the association his house provided to an early Christian saint.

Warham's interest in Becket is well attested to. As early in his reign as 1507 he had begun building a tomb for himself near the site of the Becket's martyrdom in the abbey at Canterbury.³⁵⁴ Relatively anonymous and fairly modest by the standards of some of the tombs of his peers and other holders of his office, Warham's tomb was nonetheless close to the site of Becket's murder, a posthumous spatial relationship that held great personal meaning and significance to an archbishop who had frequently allied himself in life to his sanctified predecessor. Unlike many of his more immediate forerunners Warham tried to be present in the diocese for St Thomas' major feast days and, in 1520, vigorously attempted to get a bull to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the saint's death. His writings and letters frequently reference Becket and on several occasions he quoted the saint in his speeches.³⁵⁵ Most notable was the address he prepared in 1532 to deliver to the House of Lords when he defended himself and his church against the charge of *praemunire*. Bravely and with the zeal of a martyr he declared, "The case that I am put to trouble for is one of the articles that Saint Thomas of Canterbury died for".³⁵⁶ He would not admit his guilt nor would he accept that his actions had constituted *praemunire* he would, he said, "rather be hewn in pieces than confess this article".³⁵⁷ Warham, it seems, recognised their shared predicament at the head of an English Catholic church increasingly marginalised by the state. His parliamentary speeches from as early in his archiepiscopacy as 1504 had defended the rights of the church and the clergy. In 1515, when clerical liberties were being threatened by the Henrician government, Warham stood before a meeting at Baynard's Castle with the king present and bravely reminded his peers that his predecessor had

³⁵³ Gough, p. 253

³⁵⁴ Scarisbrick, p. 415

³⁵⁵ Scarisbrick, p. 415

³⁵⁶ TNA SP 1 70, (f.236)

³⁵⁷ TNA SP 1 70, (f.236)

been made a martyr for a similar cause.³⁵⁸ Warham was a strong enough man to acknowledge and accept that the correct fate of an archbishop might be martyrdom and he emphasised the primacy of his moral and theocratic position by presenting himself as the embodiment of the saintly model that Becket provided.

It was Warham's interest in Becket then that had arguably led him to build a great mansion on the site of the martyr's house at Otford, retaining only the hall and the chapel which, although almost certainly a later build, were the two parts of the house that might in his mind have retained the closest associations with his predecessor.³⁵⁹ Although this is never explicitly mentioned or illustrated in any of the sources it is a seemingly justifiable hypothesis. This was architecture as symbolism a building that created a manifest connection between two archbishops separated by centuries but linked together by an increasingly fraught relationship between church and state.

Warham himself had firsthand experience of another building project that was intended to make overt confirmation of the mortal and immortal relationships between man and saint. As chancellor of England Warham was appointed to supervise the execution of Henry VII's will, a document that finalised and confirmed the king's desire to be buried in his new Lady Chapel at St Peter's, Westminster.³⁶⁰ Building work had begun on 24th January 1503 and was largely complete by Henry's death in 1509 and the king had been closely involved in its design and development throughout. His will was that he and his wife should be laid to rest in a tomb before the high altar of the chapel:

“specially bicause that within the same, [...] resteth the holie bodie and reliquies of the glorious King and Confessour Sainct Edward, and diverse other of our noble progenitours and blood, and specially the body of our graunt dame of right noble memorie Quene Kateryne, wif to Henry the vth, and doughter to King Charles of Fraunce and that we by the grace of God pourpose right shortly to translate into the same the

³⁵⁸ Scarisbrick, p. 412

³⁵⁹ Lambarde, p. 464

³⁶⁰ TNA E 23 3 (f.18) transcribed in M. Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII: Document and Text', in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, T. Tatton-Brown R. Mortimer (eds.), (Woodbridge: 2003), p. 138

bodie and reliquies of our uncle of blissed memorie King Henry the
vjth.³⁶¹

At Westminster, Henry VII, the usurper king, was using the architecture to create an image of his legitimacy. Positioning his chapel close to the shrine of that most famous and popular of royal saints, Edward the Confessor, reinforced the spiritual authority of his regality emphasising his relationship to his grandmother, Queen Catherine, and his uncle, Henry VI by being buried in their presence reinforced his familial claim to the throne. Furthermore, the new chapel was emblazoned with Henry's own heraldic devices reminding us that through the physical structure of the architecture and its spatial relationship to the tombs and shrines of his forbears, Henry could create a tangible posthumous manifestation of the image he promoted in life. Of course, tombs and chapels are more overt and straightforward examples of architecture signifying relationship than houses or palaces but they raise the same issues of symbolic relationships. A building such as the Lady Chapel at Westminster or the palace at Otford could make manifest an association that would otherwise remain obscure. Warham, of course did the same thing at Canterbury by locating his own tomb in the Martyrdom there and thus we might justifiably hypothesise that in choosing Otford as the site for his own great architectural masterpiece he was, in part at least, concerned with the creation of his own identity both as wealthy, fashionable patron and as a man of the church, archbishop of Canterbury and a Becket-like defender of his office.

³⁶¹ TNA E 23 3 (ff.1v-2); transcribed in Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII', p. 113

Phase 2 B.3 – Archbishop Cranmer: Upkeep and Repair, 1533-1538

Despite having prepared himself for a martyr's fate, Warham died a natural death at Hackington in Kent on 22nd August 1532. His successor Thomas Cranmer was not consecrated as archbishop until March in the following year and in the intervening months, during interregnum between Warham's death and Cranmer's succession Knole and Otford had been freely occupied by Princess Mary.³⁶²

Cranmer's episcopacy ranks amongst the longest, but his tenure of the two properties was short-lived. Five years after he took control of the see's estates Knole and Otford were taken from him by Henry VIII and if in that brief time Cranmer built at either house then the evidence for it has been lost. Certainly the Receiver's accounts for those years are too fragmentary to give a clear sense of the archbishop's activities, but enough survive to be reasonably certain that no large scale work was undertaken. Indeed, amongst the documents only the accounts for 1536-37 include any payments for building work and although typically non-specific about their scope, the small total sum of only 4 9s. d. divided between both houses suggests that we are witnessing repairs and upkeep rather than new building.³⁶³

Architecturally there is certainly little at Knole that might be considered to have been added by Cranmer. Warham's building works, only recently completed when Cranmer took possession, had modernised the house and Cranmer, it seems, found no reason to extend it further. The house had undergone significant changes in the first decades of the sixteenth century but those building ranges that we can securely date to these phases are, as we have already seen, more easily attributable to Warham's patronage than to Cranmer's. We must conclude, therefore, that Cranmer retained the house much as Warham had left it to him.

Understandably Cranmer's own preoccupation in the tense political situations developing at Court rendered any involved patronage at Knole unlikely. He did not, however, desert the house and certainly stayed there on several occasions. Like others before him it was to Knole that he retreated when the situation in London became

³⁶² TNA E 101 421 10

³⁶³ LPL ED 1368

heated. In April 1536, for example, as Cromwell was bringing the Court to a point of crisis Cranmer escaped from Lambeth to Knole.³⁶⁴ Yet Knole cannot have been a favourite home for Cranmer for although his visits may be evidenced they were not frequent. He was fond enough of it, however, to try to dissuade Henry from including it amongst the properties he seized from Canterbury's possession. As Ralph Morice reported, Cranmer, "mynding to have retaynid Knoll unto hymself, saied that it was too small a house for his majestie".³⁶⁵ Otford's seizure, on the other hand, went uncontested by Cranmer. Knole it seems remained, for the archbishop, the more popular of the two. It was a smaller, more homely and more comfortable house than its near neighbour and Cranmer, like Henry, evidently recognised the charms of its, "sounde, perfaite, holsome grounde".³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*, (London: 1996), p. 155

³⁶⁵ Gough Nichols, *Narratives*, p. 266

³⁶⁶ Gough Nichols, *Narratives*, p. 266

Summary of the Archbishopal Building Phases

When, in 1538, Henry VIII took ownership of Knole he acquired a house that would be largely recognisable to visitors today. In its scope Knole had been completed. The subsequent works by future owners, most notably by Thomas Sackville in the early-seventeenth century, would not expand the house any further for it still stands now on the same footprint that was established by the archbishops. It had undergone a whole series of alterations, rebuilding campaigns and expansions under ever changing tenants. We can summarise these phases and changes as follows:

Phase 1 A – Before 1445 Knole was a small manor house. It was owned by a succession of absentee landlords and only rarely occupied. Little or nothing of the house survives although it is possible that it stood on the Birdhouse site. If this was so then we may speculate that parts of the ruined walls that stand to the east of that site and are often described as an eighteenth century garden feature might instead be the remains of an earlier building.

Phase 1 B – Sir James Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, bought Knole in 1445. He almost immediately began to build a new great house commensurate with his high social position on the site that the main house now occupies. His sudden death in 1450, however, brought building work to a halt. The design of the planned house is unknown and has been largely hidden by major subsequent works. It is clear though that by his death Fiennes had built ranges around Water Court and had established the position of the Great Hall. To the east of the house – perhaps the original entrance front – there was a symmetrical façade with corner towers at either end. He may also have planned and begun to build the foundations for an unrealised outer court. The position is unknown if the east front was indeed the entrance then it might have been intended to stand to the east of that. However, alternatively it may have had similar footings to those of Stone Court, a interpretation that might account for the submerged doors in the north range cellars.

Phase 2 A.1 – Archbishop Thomas Bouchier bought the manor of Knole from Fiennes' heir in 1456. Initially, in that year his builders consolidated the unfinished house making habitable those parts of the building that had been left nearly complete. The accounts tell of reroofing and works to the interiors of the house but do not suggest that the brief phase witnessed significant new building. He stayed at the house for the first time in March 1459 and probably occupied ranges to the south of Water Court.

Phase 2 A.2 – In 1460 new building work began. This phase was most intense for the first few years of that decade but continued until about 1468. The archbishop's builders, who included amongst their number Thomas Jurdan a future Master of the King's Masonry, extended the house to the west. The most significant work was to build the new ranges surrounding Stone Court, including Bouchier's Tower, the new outer gate. Bouchier's house at that time may have had an unusual arrangement of rooms for it seems that the archbishop's principal chambers were located in the room above the gate. The phase of works also saw remodelling of the ranges to the east of the house round Water Court and the building of a new Chapel in the south-east corner of the site.

Phase 2 A.3 – After a break in building works between 1468 and 1472 caused in part by the increasingly tense political situation in which Bouchier found himself, construction re-commenced. Between 1472 and 1474 builders were once again employed at Knole. Encouraged by Bouchier's decision to occupy the house more frequently in his later years his builders extended the house to the west adding Green Court (which has previously been attributed to his successors) and extending stable provision around Stable Court.

Phase 2 B.1 – It is clear that, after his death in 1486, Bouchier's successors Archbishops Morton and Deane continued the upkeep of his house. Regular small payments suggest that repairs were financed and certainly Morton occupied the house regularly. However, although Morton is known as a patron of architecture and is often credited with work at Knole, there is no evidence that he was responsible for any substantial work at the house.

Phase 2 B.2 – Archbishop William Warham inherited the tenure of the house on Deane's death. Between 1508 and about 1525 Warham, who before his appointment to the see of Canterbury had shown no interest in architecture, undertook massive remodelling of the south and east ranges at Knole. He added new buildings around Pheasant Court and rebuilt the first floor of the east range to include suites of apartments and a new long gallery (the Leicester Gallery). These two areas of building were connected by a further long gallery (the Brown Gallery) which was built above the Chapel corridor, itself built by Warham on the possible footings of an older passage. By the end of Warham's tenure Knole was largely recognisable as the house it is today. Archbishop Warham also rebuilt the old house at Otford creating there a vast palace as a symbol of his power, wealth and learning and to take advantage of the symbolic links between the site and St. Thomas Becket. The huge works at Otford, however, did not come at the expense of work at Knole.

Phase 2 B.3 – Archbishop Cranmer inherited from Warham two newly-modernised houses. During the five years of his tenure of Knole and Otford he evidently paid small sums for their upkeep but was not responsible for any major new building works at either house.

PART TWO: LIVING AT KNOLE – A SOCIAL AND FUNCTIONAL HISTORY OF THE HOUSE

Introduction

The Archbishops of Canterbury are constantly the subject of historical research. They were men at the forefront of the combined worlds of politics and religion – high office holders whose influence on national history cannot be overstated. Amongst the many works of scholarship that have been devoted to them Diarmaid MacCulloch's *Thomas Cranmer* (1996) stands out as an exemplar of biographical erudition. Cranmer was the only archiepiscopal owner of Knole to have had a whole book devoted to him by a modern historian, but the others, Bouchier, Morton, Deane, and Warham, are all well represented in journal articles, book chapters and in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.³⁶⁷ There are also numerous books that treat the archbishops as a group, variously devoting chapters to biographical studies or, as in Du Boulay's *The Lordship of Canterbury* (1966), considering a single aspect of their role, in this case their estate management.³⁶⁸ We see, through these and the many works like them, the archbishops as churchmen, religious pioneers, pinnacles of godliness, martyrs, saints, or as statesmen, administrators, economists, lawyers and landowners.

The archbishops' houses have received significantly less attention from historians. In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries a flurry of interest saw the production of volumes including Venable's *Episcopal Palaces of England* (1895) and R.S. Rait's edited series of essays on *English Episcopal Palaces* (1910-11). Neither is exhaustive nor wholly accurate and both give a narrative description of the houses and the archbishops that ranges from architecture to myth to biography. Their histories are, as is duly noted in the Editor's Note of one of Rait's volumes, "presented in popular

³⁶⁷ Aside from the ODNB entries see, for example, Logan, F.D., Archbishop Thomas Bourghier revisited, in *The Church in Pre-Reformation society: essays in honour of F.R.H. Du Boulay*, Barron, C. Harper-Bill, C. (eds.), (Woodbridge: 1985), pp. 170-98. F.R.H. Du Boulay, Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities, *The English Historical Review*, 67 (1952), pp. 19-36

³⁶⁸ For example W.F. Hook, *Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury*, 12 vols. (London: 1860-84) E. Carpenter, *Cantuar: The Archbishops in their Office*, (London: 1997)

form”.³⁶⁹ More recently Tim Tatton-Brown’s book, *Lambeth Palace: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and their Houses* (2000) has updated the scholarship. However, like its predecessors, it is written for a largely non-specialised audience and presents a useful but generalised survey of the archiepiscopal houses from their Anglo-Saxon establishment to the present day. A more specialised study is presented in Phyllis Hembry’s ‘Episcopal Palaces, 1535 to 1660’ (1978) but the survey of bishops’ houses prior to the Reformation with which she starts her article is intended only as an overview and an introduction to the main points of her argument which focus on the fate of the buildings after the split with Rome.

Much of the most up-to-date work on the medieval archbishops’ houses has been written by archaeologists or from an archaeological perspective. J.N. Hare’s work on Bishop’s Waltham Palace (1988) and Harold Gough’s survey of the manor house at Ford (2001) stand as two prime examples amongst several others. However, perhaps the best overview of the subject is presented by Michael Thompson in *Medieval Bishops’ Houses in England and Wales* (1998). Thompson, himself an archaeologist, surveyed the surviving buildings along with records of those that have disappeared and his hugely useful book provides an interesting discussion of the developments of episcopal architecture from the early Middle Ages to the Reformation. However, his focus is structural and considers first and foremost the design and development of the buildings.

There remains, therefore, a gap in the scholarship that none of the above mentioned works have been able to fill. We see little in either the biographical studies of the archbishops or the architectural surveys of their buildings about the functional or social histories of the houses. The archbishops are rarely shown interacting with their houses which are presented at most as mute stage sets for events of more apparent importance. Whilst authors such as Thompson have produced valuable work on the form of the archbishops’ houses it is difficult to appreciate how they were used and how the design of the buildings reflected the men for whom they were built.

As holders of a religious office we might imagine that the archbishops had specific requirements which their houses were designed to accommodate. Certainly by calling them ‘archbishops’ palaces’ we inadvertently set them apart as a group seemingly consisting of a distinct type of building. We must, therefore, consider

³⁶⁹ R.S. Rait, *English Episcopal Palaces: Province of Canterbury*, (London: 1910)

whether this is a tenable position and discuss whether, by the time of Knole's construction in the mid-fifteenth century, there was any real difference structurally or functionally between the house of a prelate and that of a noble.

In contrast to Part One of this thesis, with its emphasis on building campaigns and surviving physical evidence, the social history of the house is more concerned with the histories of the interiors of an archiepiscopal house. There are two main approaches to this subject. First, through the archbishops' patronage of the visual arts and the internal appearance of the rooms, we may consider both the surviving fragments of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century decorative schemes and the associated documentary record. Second, the history of the interior is also a study of the social and functional relationships of the house of a great prelate. The layout of the house reveals the day-to-day activities of the archbishop, his household and his guests within its spaces. This recognises that the history of a house like Knole is not simply that of an individual but of a community living under the leadership and influence of the archbishop. The aim of succeeding chapters will be to place the household's day-to-day activity within the context of the architectural setting to see how members of the household moved through and utilised the spaces and how those spaces reflected those movements. In doing so, we will, through the broad lenses of architectural and household history, add to the more general understanding of the particular duties of archiepiscopal office.

Despite the earlier contention that there is a gap in the scholarship on archbishops' residences, we must acknowledge the existence of several important antecedents to this study on domestic life more generally. A number of useful works combine architectural and social history and provide a solid basis for this thesis. The pioneering work in this regard was certainly Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* (1978) which first considered architecture as a branch of social history and departed from the traditional archaeological and art historical approaches to the study of buildings. The work opened up the house and questioned how people lived from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century. It led to a number of further studies that began to question how the development of architectural styles and the physical structures of the buildings reflected the changing ways in which they were used and understood by patrons, residents and visitors. Notable amongst these were Howard's *The Early Tudor Country House* (1987) and Thurley's *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (1993).

It is arguably fair to say, however, that the discipline is still in its infancy. All are hugely valuable books but we must acknowledge that there is still more that can be said about the social and functional histories of the house. At this point we might remark that the overall impression created by the above studies and others is that the house operated in a formal and hierarchical way. There is a sense of inflexibility and that each space within the house had a distinct, immovable function. Here, however, the evidence from archbishops' residences is that the house was a more fluid and flexible structure where functionality was in some respects commutable.

Source materials for examining the life of the house are, however, restricted on the whole to only certain kinds of formal evidence. Archbishops were highly visible members of medieval society, influential in many regards and consequently well-documented. But the context of that documentation often dictates the nature of the study they are afforded by historians. Most often, as might be expected, archbishops are recorded participating in great formal occasions or in the affairs of state. The documentary evidence, therefore, usually describes these more formal uses of the building an important aspect of their functions but only one of many. This is true of course not only of archiepiscopal examples but of the noble and royal houses too and probably accounts for the way in which they have been described by historians as rather inflexible. Less frequently do we see the archbishops at home, for descriptions of them using their houses on the days outside of the great events of state or religion are rare. We are left, therefore, with a picture of the archiepiscopacy that is one-sided and potentially distorting.

The archbishop then is clearly a churchman and a statesman but he is rarely a householder. We must question, therefore, how the house operated on those days that were not great ceremonial events in short we must try to view the house on a day-to-day or more domestic level. Of course, to try to differentiate a distinctly domestic life from his official life would be to create an anachronism we must recognise that the archiepiscopal office was a position which provided little opportunity for privacy or escape. His houses could be both a place to work and a place to live but the archbishop could never fully escape his high office. We may concede that Archbishop Bouchier, as we will demonstrate, used Knole as a retreat from the increasingly fraught situation of national politics and to the degree that the archbishop could achieve a 'private life' Knole provided the setting for it. More generally, however, the house was a multi-

functional structure, both an office and a home. It is the evidence for the relationships between these functions and the physical spaces of the house that we will elucidate in the following sections.

Notwithstanding these observations, the daily life of a late medieval archbishop is detailed in several descriptive sources. The letters of the Mayor of Exeter, John Shillingford, written from London in the 1440s whilst he was petitioning Archbishop John Stafford, a predecessor of Knole's builders, describe in detail and with an apparently high level of accuracy the house as a place of business.³⁷⁰ Sources like the descriptions of Morton and Warham by Sir Thomas More in the *Utopia* or by Erasmus respectively were eulogistic and intended to praise their subjects as ideal archbishops.³⁷¹ However, whilst it is possible to question the accuracy of such accounts as biographical records they remain useful source material for the functions of the archbishops' houses.

There is also a more direct record. The archbishops left wills which, in varying levels of detail, provide a sense of the archbishops' interests and material possessions and, in at least one case, can help to show how Knole was furnished (see p. 208). Alongside these are surviving inventories, notably that of Cranmer's possessions in 1553 (post-dating both the loss of Knole, the Reformation and, more significantly, Cranmer's fall from grace, but nonetheless a useful source), and from these too we can begin to build a picture of the interior spaces.³⁷² There are also records of the more extraordinary events that the houses witnessed. The enthronement feast of Archbishop Warham in 1504, for example, held in the archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury, must have been one of the most spectacular occasions of that year. The contemporary description of this event is exhaustive and, whilst it cannot be considered representative of the everyday life in the house it, nonetheless, gives a sense of how spaces were used and how spatial functions were expressed. The records of heresy trials that Warham conducted later in his reign in houses including Knole similarly help to populate space with people and their activities.

³⁷⁰ Moore, S.A. (ed.), *Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter 1447-50*, Camden Society, n.s. 2 (London: 1871)

³⁷¹ More, T., *Utopia*, trans. Turner, P., (London: 2003), pp. 21-2 J. Gough Nichols (ed.), *Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury. By Desiderius Erasmus, with the colloquy on rash vows, by the same author, and his characters of Archbishop Warham and Dean Colet*, (Westminster: 1849), pp. 157-79

³⁷² TNA E 154 2 39 (ff.62r – 86v)

Records of the household itself are more difficult to come by for their survival is fragmentary. The household was clearly a place of intense bureaucracy and daily account-taking was the norm. Subsequent loss, destruction and disbursement, however, mean that little is left of the once extensive paper-trail that detailed the day-to-day activities and expenses of the archbishops' houses. For Bouchier's reign, for example, the longest of all the Archbishops of Canterbury, only one day's worth of household accounts at only one of his houses survives and even then it is incomplete and its poor condition makes it difficult to use.³⁷³

Much more useful, and undoubtedly our best way of entry into the archiepiscopal household and the basis for an analytical study are the household ordinances. Archbishop Cranmer's survive and they detail the rules, regulations, behaviour and activities of the archbishop's staff.³⁷⁴ In places the document approaches a narrative account of the household that establishes routines, shows movement and is descriptive of the daily life of an archiepiscopal house. It is also descriptive of space, placing the activities of people within defined parts of the house and providing evidence of the functions of particular spaces. As such they reconstruct evocatively the social history of the house. However, let us examine precisely what the ordinances are able to tell us. They seek to govern how the building was supposed to operate therefore they are not necessarily a record of how it did function in practice. Nonetheless, they do at least reveal the priorities of the household and their understanding of function. Furthermore, Cranmer's ordinances are formulaic, relying on the example of earlier household ordinances as a guide to their contents. Arguably then the apparent lack of specificity to an archiepiscopal house may limit their value. But conversely, this in itself is interesting since, as we will discuss in more depth at a later point, they compare favourably in terms of content to the regulations of the great royal and noble households. Here then there is the opportunity to produce a direct comparison between secular and archiepiscopal establishments.

This then will be the aim of the following chapters. The consideration of an archiepiscopal household on a day-to-day basis will present an opportunity to see how the house was used and how its functions were understood both literally and conceptually. We must do this with an eye towards a comparative analysis between the

³⁷³ LPL ED 1973

³⁷⁴ LPL MS. 884

houses and households of the higher clergy and those of royalty and the nobility. In doing so we will ask the question as to whether a house like Knole, an 'archbishop's palace', was different in character, layout or function from other late medieval great houses.

The House and Household

1) Running the House: The Household and their Ordinances

1a) The Household

Late medieval households were large, complex, hierarchical organisations. They were formed of the people who surrounded a lord and provided for his well-being, profit and honour. In an age dominated by symbols of power the size and magnificence of the household stood for more than just personal riches, it was the very image of lordly success. Christopher Woolgar has calculated that Archbishop Bouchier's household contained some 68 people in 1459, although this was perhaps a conservative estimate since some of the great households had several hundred members.³⁷⁵ The household was naturally central to medieval society. In her study of archbishops and hospitality, Felicity Heal suggested that it is possible to consider the structure of society as formed of, "an interlocking and hierarchical series of households".³⁷⁶ At the top, of course, was the royal Court, the largest and grandest of all medieval institutions, but although below it households decreased in status and size they were essentially the same, each sharing the same functions and basic organisation.³⁷⁷ This was the case not only in noble and gentry households but also in those of ecclesiastical high office holders. The household of a bishop or archbishop might look no different in its structure to that of a noble of the realm.

Although this is almost certainly true of the household that lived and worked at Knole during its occupation by the archbishops, it is difficult to be certain how it was formed. Record keeping by the officers of the household was the norm. It was instructed in Archbishop Cranmer's ordinances, for example, that the Comptroller, "ought to keepe a greate Legeir, wherein he should note any bill of payments that passeth his

³⁷⁵ C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, (New Haven: 1999), p. 12 M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*, (London: 1978), p. 15

³⁷⁶ F. Heal, The Archbishops of Canterbury and the Practice of Hospitality, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33:4 (1982), p. 545 D. Starkey, The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and the Arts c.1350-c.1550, in *The Context of English Literature: The Later Middle Ages*, Medcalf, S. (ed.), (London: 1981), p. 225

³⁷⁷ Starkey, 'The Age of the Household', p. 244

hands by assignment, because no doble allowaunce should be gyven, And in the said booke he ought to note ev er y p er sonne put forth on the Lords busines, or otherwise Lycensed, the daie and tyme of theire dep ar ting forth of the said howse, for that at theire comyng againe he maie give them allowaunce accordingly”.³⁷⁸ Such extensive records do not survive for Knoles specifically and so we know few of the names of the household that lived there. We can though turn to Archbishop Cranmer’s household ordinances to consider the activities and routines of an archiepiscopal household in more detail.

1b) The Cranmer Household Ordinance and its Historical Context

Before we can discuss the household and the importance and contents of their ordinances in depth we must briefly consider the specific history of the surviving copy of Archbishop Cranmer’s household ordinances entitled *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebissop of Cant.* (LPL MS. 884). A full transcript of the document can be found in Appendix 2. As a source it will form the basis of much of the analysis of the following chapters, but it must be acknowledged that it presents some problems for the historian since it survives only as a later copy bound together with an assortment of only loosely-related material. As we will go on to see, it was not until the 1560s in the household of Cranmer’s successor, Archbishop Matthew Parker, that the extant document was compiled.

By the 1560s, Cranmer, who was burned as a heretic by Mary I in 1556, was the focus of renewed veneration. Illustrative perhaps of the Elizabethan regard for the former archbishop is, of course, Foxe’s eulogistic life of Cranmer in his *Acts and Monuments* first published in 1563.³⁷⁹ Cranmer, the sanctified Protestant that Foxe presented in his writing, became ‘public property’; the additional celebrity that he was afforded by his death and the Elizabethan re-establishment of the ideals for which he made his sacrifice meant that, through Foxe and biographers such as Ralph Morice, the archbishop’s former secretary, the details of his life and conduct were open to public scrutiny.³⁸⁰ Foxe, of course, and to a perhaps less intentional degree Morice, were

³⁷⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.20)

³⁷⁹ J. Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, Vol. 8, Catley, S.R. (ed.), (London: 1839), pp. 3-44

³⁸⁰ Gough Nichols, *Narratives*, pp. 234-72

producing hagiographies to satisfy the Protestant market and bolster the new religious order. The biography of Cranmer in the *Acts and Monuments* was the life of a devout Christian, the perfect Protestant role model. As such it was, in many ways, a work of religious propaganda and spin, not an accurate account of the life of the first archbishop of the Church of England. The Cranmer that Foxe portrays is the perceived and accepted ideal of the archiepiscopate and his commentary thus reveals to the modern reader the characteristics that the author believed would define the archbishop's sanctity. Chief amongst those characteristics emphasised by Foxe was the archbishop's ability to run his household and Cranmer's establishment, therefore, became a focus of subsequent interest to those who sought to re-establish his good name.

It is, we may assume, within this tradition of interest in the household that we can place the copy of the, *Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebissop of Cant.* held in the Library at Lambeth Palace.³⁸¹ Although clearly identified by its title as relating to the household of Archbishop Cranmer, the surviving copy seems, on the basis of internal evidence, to have been compiled between 1561 and 1566, at most nine years after his death. The document presents detailed rules for the household and gives a vivid account of the day-to-day activity of an archiepiscopal palace. It represents, therefore, a unique opportunity to access the house and get a sense of how the building, its spaces and its people operated. Before we can study its contents, however, we must consider its accuracy and origin as the date of 1561-66 makes it problematic as a primary source.

The bound volume in which the document appears can be divided broadly into four parts. The first, ff.1-6, appears to be an explanation of the functions and responsibilities of the officers of the household. It is written in the past tense by someone, it seems, who had either had access to the household and could remember the details of its organisation, or by someone who had sight of its archive of statutes and papers. It includes a series of example documents and ledger book entries illustrative of the bureaucratic paper-trail produced by the officers but presented here in general terms and all dated to either 1561 or 1566. Serving, as they do, the purpose of being examples rather than real documents their dating, although initially confusing, appears to relate to the time of production of the extant manuscript copy rather than to any original documents from which they may have been drawn. Thus, this part of the volume

³⁸¹ LPL MS. 884

apparently represents a posthumous study of Cranmer's service arrangements rather than a contemporary illustration of a 1560s archiepiscopal household. Part two, ff.6v-7v, is a more obvious anomaly as it presents a series of expenses relating to the enthronement of Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1560. The purpose of its inclusion amongst these papers is unclear. It may, however, shed light on the hand who is responsible for writing or copying the first three parts of the volume, for they are "sett owt", so the marginated note explains, by William Pierce (or Percy) Registrar to the Archdeacon of Canterbury.³⁸²

Part three, ff.8-22v, is arguably the most interesting in the volume and as such is the section from which most of our analysis will be drawn. It appears to be a direct copy of an original series of household ordinances and thus must be considered to represent the statute book for Cranmer's houses. They are extraordinarily detailed and give a clear insight into the running of a late medieval great house. There is some evidence to suggest that the copy is not complete and that the author of the document omitted sections of the original in reality it is difficult to be certain but the scope and fullness of what is presented here is of sufficient depth and quality to use as the basis of a detailed study of the household. The date of composition of the original ordinances from which the copy is taken is unspecified in the document itself and must remain a matter for speculation. However, it does, in many regards, compare favourably with several earlier household ordinances. The most significant must be the 1469 ordinances of George, Duke of Clarence.³⁸³ It is clear that the author of Cranmer's statutes had had sight of a copy of Clarence's (or that both documents had another common source) for many of the clauses are repeated using nearly identical language in both. Thus, for example, where in Cranmer's mid-sixteenth century ordinances we find the phrase:

"And that no man of the said howshold p[re]sume to dislodge any mann,
or take awaie lodgings, other than shall be appointed by the said
herbenger".³⁸⁴

³⁸² LPL MS. 884 (f.6v)

³⁸³ Anon., *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns. From King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary. Also Receipts in Ancient Cookery*, (London: 1790), pp. 88-105

³⁸⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.18)

In the household ordinances of George, Duke of Clarence, written perhaps seventy years earlier, we find the comparable sentence:

“And that noe man of the seid courte presume to dislodge any man, or take any lodginge, other than shall be appoynted by the seid herbergoures”.³⁸⁵

Whilst these documents are not identical this comparison with earlier ordinances and the fact that Cranmer’s ordinances lack any further internal dating evidence or specificity about their jurisdictional coverage mean it is possible to make positive assumptions about their value as a source material for Knole. We should assume that even if this particular set of ordinances did not govern daily life at Knole then one very similar did. Furthermore, we might also assume, given the importance of ordinances, that Cranmer’s predecessors had kept similar rule books.

The first three parts of the volume are all in the same Elizabethan secretary hand and in style fit with the date of 1561-66 posited above. Part four, ff.27-36v, however, is in several scripts more characteristic of the later seventeenth century and includes ordinances for the archbishops of this period. The inclusion of these papers in this volume is presumably the responsibility of the compiler and binder who collected these pages together for, whilst they are fascinating and valuable in their own right, are not of any direct relevance to Archbishop Cranmer and do not relate to the frontispiece title or to the document represented by ff.1-22v (excluding also the Parker accounts in ff.6v - 7v).

It is, therefore, parts one (ff.1 – 6) and three (ff.8 – 22v) of LPL MS. 884, specifically those that deal directly with Archbishop Cranmer’s household, that we will draw on over the following chapters. The remainder of the document, although interesting as a comparative source is, nonetheless, anomalous to a study of the household at Knole.

³⁸⁵ Anon., *A Collection of Ordinances*, pp. 94

1c) The Importance of Household Ordinances

The history of the household ordinance is yet to be properly studied as a distinct subject by historians. Much of the published material discussing the medieval household itself, including, for example, Woolgar's *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (1999), makes only cursory or passing references to the statute books that governed daily domestic life in the large houses. Yet in doing so the prevalence and importance of household ordinances have been ignored since it seems certain that, despite their poor survival, they were formerly commonplace documents. The most well known today are undoubtedly those of the royal households amongst them Edward IV's *Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliae* of c.1471-2 and Henry VIII's *Eltham Ordinances* compiled in 1526 stand out for their breadth of content.³⁸⁶ They were not, however, found only in the royal households the great noble houses, some of which rivalled the king's in size and splendour, were managed under the auspices of an ordinance. One of the most complete and detailed of all late medieval rule books, royal and noble alike, was that of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, whose vast book of household rules was begun in 1512.³⁸⁷ Beyond these notable examples, however, their survival has been fragmentary and the faint interest shown in them by scholars has ensured that those that do survive in archive collections have remained largely unknown.

The complexities and scale of royal, noble, secular, episcopal and even gentry institutions necessitated rules. The grandest households might have several hundred members and the roles of each required definition. It cannot be said with certainty that all medieval households had books of ordinances, but it must be considered likely that most of the larger establishments had a rule book of some type. Enough survive to suggest that common themes and rules dominated the structure of all these households and that a model of good governance was acknowledged, accepted and disseminated. Listed amongst the possessions of James Gloys, Chaplain, and, perhaps, also Steward to the Paston family in the fifteenth century, was, "j boke of statutis", valued at 40d. and, "j boke of xij chapetyrs of Lynccoln". This, together with another volume, was valued

³⁸⁶ Anon., *A Collection of Ordinances* A.R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinances of 1478*, (Manchester: 1959)

³⁸⁷ Anon., *The Regulations and Establishments of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, at his Castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire, begun Anno Domini M.D.XII.*, (London: 1827)

at 10s., and may have been a copy of Robert Grosseteste's *Rules*, a mid-thirteenth century book of estate and household management.³⁸⁸ That a gentry family like the Pastons with a staff that was small in comparison to the greater noble households owned and used a copy of an earlier household ordinance, and that the document it was written in had a monetary value, suggests that they could be bought and traded. There is, amongst the collections of the British Library, an Elizabethan copy of a late-fifteenth century ordinance titled, '*Orders of service belonging to the degrees of a duke, a marquess and an erle used in there owne howses*'.³⁸⁹ Although our interpretation may be complicated by its being a later copy, we might consider that the lack of specificity about the ownership of the document and the instruction that it could be implemented generically in the house of a duke, marquis or earl, suggests that it was an ideal of governance drawn up to be sold and adapted. In likewise, therefore, the similarities between Archbishop Cranmer's household statutes and those of the Duke of Clarence that we have discussed above indicate that successful earlier ordinances were used as models and were freely available to be copied.

The purpose of the household ordinance was to regulate the daily activity of the house and to record the rights and responsibilities of the people who worked for, lived with or visited the lord. They did so in a greater or lesser degree of detail some of the larger ones, like those of Henry Percy, ran into many hundreds of pages, whilst the shorter ones such as the copy of the Bishop of Lincoln's statutes owned by the Pastons, might only take up a few sides.³⁹⁰ Cranmer's ordinances are typical they detailed the roles of the household staff, what they should do during the day, how they should behave, when they should start work and finish, how much the kitchen offices should produce, and so forth. They were key to setting out the requirements of a good, well-ordered household. When Edward IV succeeded, for the second time, to the throne in 1471, England was suffering the turmoil of the Wars of the Roses. He could not control his country and the factionalism that was wrenching apart his nobility was to continue for another sixteen years but he could, at least, try to control his household, for in the

³⁸⁸ BL. Add. Charter. 17255 For Gloys acting as Steward see H. Castor, *Blood and Roses: The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century*, (London: 2004), p. 75

³⁸⁹ BL. Harleian MS. 6815 Although the text is undated it is attributed to the late-fifteenth century by Mark Girouard, (Girouard, p. 320). Despite the documents title it, in fact, only contains information for the estate of an earl.

³⁹⁰ Anon., *Household of Henry Algernon Percy*

early months of his new reign he drew up the *Liber Niger*.³⁹¹ Otherwise known as the Black Book, it was a series of household ordinances of minute detail, based on idealised historical and biblical precedents and intended to make Edward's household the "lantern of England".³⁹² It was to light the way to a more stable future and provide a model for the country at large. His household would serve as a microcosm of his realm, for if Edward could rule his house he could rule his kingdom as well.

In an ecclesiastical context the need for a well-ordered house appears even more acute. Houses like Knole were lavish establishments and households expensive institutions to maintain. The archbishop lived in luxury surrounded by a large company. Yet this was also a world where the image of the archbishop was supposed to be one of religious piety reflected in humbleness and frugality, so the obvious splendour of his house and lifestyle stood as a jarring contradiction. To give it a *raison d'être*, therefore, and to justify the excessive spending that it required, the household was invested with a metaphorical quality. It became a place where the archbishop could display his ability to lead his flocks and his large household became a means of providing hospitality and his expensive buildings places in which to offer shelter to strangers.³⁹³ All Christians were, of course, entreated to provide hospitality by the greatest of all ordinances, the Bible. The Book of Hebrews, for example, declared, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares".³⁹⁴ The requirements for good housekeeping and hospitality were particularly keenly felt by an archbishop. St. Paul had written (and there can be little surprise that Foxe chose to form his eulogy on Cranmer around the tenets of his words):³⁹⁵

"If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. A Bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach Not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre but patient, not a brawler, not

³⁹¹ According to the analysis of A.R. Myers the Black Book was written between June 1471 and September 1472. Myers, p. 29-34

³⁹² Anon., *A Collection of Ordinances*, p. 22

³⁹³ Heal, *The Archbishops*, p. 545

³⁹⁴ Hebrews, 13:2

³⁹⁵ Foxe, Vol. 8, p. 12

covetous One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity (For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?)”.³⁹⁶

Through the guidance and strictures established by the household ordinance the archbishop could ensure that he fulfilled St Paul’s model. Typically, Cranmer’s ordinance was a rule book for his staff and was concentrated principally on the control of order amongst his household. The good provision of hospitality, however, came as a natural extension to the assurance of order. Although hospitality was not a central theme of Cranmer’s ordinance it underpinned its intention and where the principle of hospitality was addressed directly its importance is clear the Ushers of the Chamber, for example, were instructed to, “see redyly that all strangers be honestly receyued”.³⁹⁷ Through the adoption of these rules Cranmer could prove that he was not only, “given to hospitality”, and able to, “rule his own house”, but could also, “take care of the church of God”. The degree of their implementation within the household is, of course, unknown, but it seems likely that the very act of drawing up or owning such a document might reveal the archbishop’s knowledge and acceptance of the requirements of his status and office. Whilst the surviving version of Cranmer’s ordinances is a later transcript, we might imagine that his household kept a bound presentation copy as proof in this regard. Certainly a copy was retained by the Steward of the Household in the Counting House (the office from which the household was run) and it was from this that the archbishop’s statutes were read to each new member of staff.³⁹⁸

Given the importance of order and hospitality within the household it cannot be surprising, therefore, that when criticism was levelled at the archbishop it was often directed towards his household. Cranmer’s secretary and biographer, Ralph Morice, found it necessary to defend his former master as a man who was, “contente to maynteyne hospitalitie both liberallie and honorablie, and yet not surmountyng the limites of his revenewes”.³⁹⁹ In the 1540s Cranmer had attracted criticism from Thomas Seymour, who had spread the rumour at Court that, “th’archebisshopp of Canterbury

³⁹⁶ I Timothy, 3:1-5

³⁹⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.11)

³⁹⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.2v f.18 v - *un-numbered folio between f.18 and f.19*)

³⁹⁹ Gough Nichols, *Narratives*, p. 260

kepte no hospitalitie or house correspondent unto his revenewis and dignitie”.⁴⁰⁰ Hearing of this slight against his minister and believing that he had, “harde the contrary”, of Cranmer, Henry VIII directed Seymour to deliver a message to the archbishop at Lambeth. When he arrived there he found the hall set for dinner and was invited to stay and dine with the household. Guiltily he returned to the king and declared, “I do remembre [...] that I tolde your highnes that my lorde of Canterburye kepte no hospitalitie correspondent unto his dignitie and nowe I perceyve that I did abuse your highnes with an untroth, for, besides your grace’s house, I thincke he be not in the realme of none estate or degre that hath suche a halle furnysshed, or that fareth more honorablie at his awne table”.⁴⁰¹ The account of this meeting reappeared in John Foxe’s eulogistic portrayal of Cranmer. Drawing heavily on Morice’s testimony Foxe praised Cranmer’s character by emphasising his generosity. In words that Foxe put into the mouth of Henry VIII he claimed that Cranmer, “spendeth [...] all that he hath in housekeeping”.⁴⁰² Far from being guilty of avarice, therefore, Cranmer’s generosity evidently proved him to be the model of a good Christian. If the importance of the virtues of hospitality and good order within the household were in any doubt, therefore, through Foxe we see it illustrated clearly.

2) Serving the Household: The Domestic Routine

Cranmer’s household ordinances afford us the possibility of reconstructing something of the daily life experienced at Knole. The document’s focus is on the activities of the household staff and so, although the routines of the archbishop and his guests might to some extent be inferred from the routines of his household, the following analysis is principally concerned with the activities of the household and not those of the archbishop. Our evidence will be drawn almost exclusively from the Cranmer ordinance but the intention is not to produce a ‘day-in-the-life’ narrative but rather to consider Knole as a working building and ascribe functions to its spaces. At times we must talk in the abstract because, for instance, whilst we know that the staff of

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Gough Nichols, *Narratives*, p. 261

⁴⁰² Foxe, Vol. 8, p. 21

the archbishop's household at Knole were managed from the Counting House, we do not know where the Counting House was. In some cases room names are clear – there is no mistaking the Great Hall, for example – and we may talk more specifically about their function. In others the ordinances themselves will help to ascribe functions to otherwise confusing spaces.

2a) The Head Officers, the Inferior Officers and the Counting House

The staff of the archbishop's household were organised in a strictly hierarchical structure. At the top and in overall charge of the services of archbishop's household were the Head Officers. They had, it was stated, “commandment throughout the howse wthout lymitacon”.⁴⁰³ The two principal offices were those of the Steward and the Comptroller. Although their roles broadly overlapped, on the whole it was the Steward's responsibility to oversee the household staff and the Comptroller's to manage the provision of supplies. They were supported in their role by the Treasurer who controlled the level of spending by the Head Officers.⁴⁰⁴ The commentary that precedes Cranmer's Ordinances makes it clear that the Head Officers were defined as all those from whom the archbishop took direct counsel concerning the running of his house and were the managerial body who met:

“twise or thrise a weeke (or oftner yf occasion served) [...] together in the Countinghouse to take order for the Lord es better service and to redres all faulte and disorders, according as the fault required”.⁴⁰⁵

Below the head officers were the inferior officers who were those members of managerial staff who took their orders from the Counting House but were not involved in the regular meetings there nor directly consulted by the archbishop on matters concerning the operation of the household. They included the Gentleman of the Horse, the Clerk of the Kitchen and the Gentleman Ushers.⁴⁰⁶ The higher officers of the

⁴⁰³ LPL MS. 884 (f.2v)

⁴⁰⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.3)

⁴⁰⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.1)

⁴⁰⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.1)

household could each keep their own servants although their numbers were controlled, they were required to wear the archbishop's livery and they could be called to wait upon him when required.⁴⁰⁷

The Counting House met several times a week to discuss the service of the household, plan the activities for the following week, dictate how much food the kitchens and its ancillary offices should produce, audit the accounts and deal with any infractions amongst the staff. The Steward and the Comptroller were in overall command during these meetings, presumably taking roles akin to a meeting chairman, and an inferior officer, the Clerk of the Kitchen, completed the paper record. It was he who filled in the "greate booke or Legier" in which were recorded all the decisions made in the Counting House by the Head Officers.⁴⁰⁸ He also had custody of the key to the Counting House door which put him in charge not only of organising the days of the meetings but also of safeguarding the documents that were kept there which included the ledger book, a copy of the household statutes and "all other recorde of the Counting howse".⁴⁰⁹ The bureaucratic paper-trail produced by the Counting House was evidently exhaustive. The ledger books were completed in detail for scrutiny by the archbishop:

"to thend that yf the Lo: did desire to understand yt he might p er ceave by the booke bothe what good orders the tooke from tyme to tyme for his better service . And also howe they reformed such faulte and inconveinences as happened there in".⁴¹⁰

In order to audit the household's activities members of the archbishop's staff were called to report to the Counting House meetings on their accounts and activities and to be punished or rewarded for their behaviour. Stationed outside the Counting House door during these sessions was a Yeoman Usher. He carried a white rod as a symbol of his

⁴⁰⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.8)

⁴⁰⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.1v)

⁴⁰⁹ LPL MS. 884 (f.2)

⁴¹⁰ LPL MS. 884 (f.1v)

responsibility and his job was to control access to the room and to “warne and goe for ev[r]y such p[er]sonne as he shalbe required to bring them to the Counting howse”.⁴¹¹

In addition to the regular weekly meetings the Counting House also met on the first day of every month. On these occasions every accountable officer, “that is to saie, the Baker, Panters, Butlers, of wyne and ale Larderer, Caters, Squillerers, Husshers of the hall, and yomen of the Ewry”, attended the Counting House to present their accounts so that the Head Officers could ensure that they were fulfilling their roles correctly and could prepare the accounts for the following month.⁴¹²

2b) The Staff and their Daily Routine

Amongst the Counting House’s principal responsibilities was the day-to-day management of the work of the archbishop’s staff. When a new member of staff was employed by the archbishop he was taken first to the Counting House by the Steward to be instructed of his duties, rights and responsibilities:

“Itm that he the Steward ought ymmediatly after the Lord hath admitted any Chapleyne, gentleman p ar ticular, or grome into his service, the Lords pleasure therein knowen to call them into the Counting howse, and there gyve them their chardge, And further declare unto them suche statutes as he shall thinke meete and convenient for them to knowe, to thintent that suche p er sonnes maie well observe and keepe them. And that done to notice unto them what ordinary allowaunce the ie shall have, Aswell in wags and lyuery as in dyet, wood cande ll and lodging, and also iournieng by the Lords commaundement And carriage at suche tymes as the Lord removeth his howshold c. And yf the Comptroler be not there p rese nt, then the Steward ought at tyme convenient to declare unto the said Comptroler what he hathe donne therein, for that he maie not onely see the said p er sonnes doe their duties in suche service as they maie be appoynted

⁴¹¹ LPL MS. 884 (f.12v)

⁴¹² LPL MS. 884 (f.9v)

unto, but also that they maie willingly have all suche ordinary allowaunces as they ought to be allowed of”.⁴¹³

It was made clear elsewhere that after the new member of staff had been read the statutes and been given his instruction he was to swear an oath that he would be, “true and faithfull unto the Lo: And to doe his dutie in his chardge of service according to his calling to his possible power After w^{ch} othe taken his name was entred wth the daie and yere by the Steward, or an other hedd Officer in the Checkroll”.⁴¹⁴

The check roll was evidently an important document for the house since it listed all those members of the household who were available to serve in the house. Most of the staff lived within the house unless they were sent away for illness or were married, in which case they were allowed to live in their own home.⁴¹⁵ However, although the staff lived within the household they were not necessarily required to work every day, since the routine seems to have operated according to a rota. Certainly the Gentlemen and Yeoman Ushers who served in the Great Hall and the Great Chamber were employed to work on a week-on, week-off basis. The commentary makes this clear:

“Everi Saterdaie in the after none, the gent ussher that wayted that weeke, brought in a note into the Counting howse of such as had wayted the weeke before, and delived yt to the hedd Offciers”.⁴¹⁶

Having examined the lists of who had worked during the previous week the Head Officers then drew up the rota for the week following. This was laid out in the Counting House on the Monday morning so that the Gentleman Usher for the Great Chamber and the Marshal of the Hall “for that weeke” might see who would be working under them. From the lists displayed in the Counting House the Gentleman Usher and the Marshal

⁴¹³ LPL MS. 884 (f.18 v)

⁴¹⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.1)

⁴¹⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.31) The evidence for this is taken from one of the later ordinances bound in the same manuscript as the Cranmer ordinance. Whilst we cannot, therefore, be certain that this was definitely the case in Cranmer’s household, it seems fair to assume that it was.

⁴¹⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.2)

made their own copies “wherein every mans name and chardge was sett downe” and pinned them to the back of the doors of the Great Chamber and the Great Hall “to be seene of everyman, that none could pleade ignorance of his chardge”.⁴¹⁷ During their week of work they were not permitted to leave the house unless they were instructed to on business or were accompanying the archbishop.⁴¹⁸

In the Great Chamber the weekly staff included “a gentleman ussher a yoma[n] husscher, foure gentlemen and yomen of the chamb[er]”.⁴¹⁹ Their day started early. In the Great Chamber the staff were instructed that they arrive there by 6 o’clock and should remain until such time as the archbishop retired to bed.⁴²⁰ In likewise the Marshal of the Hall made sure that one of his Groom Ushers was in the Great Hall by 6 o’clock every day to “make yt cleane, and to see in tyme convenient fyer in the same”.⁴²¹ For the Gentleman Usher in the Great Chamber the start of the day was a little more flexible. His instructions required that he was to:

“see good order kepte in the greate Chamber, and every morning both winter and sommer to be ther betwene six and vij in the morning sommer, and vij and viij in the winter, bothe to see that the Gromes, and yoman usshers of the Chamb er did theirre office, and also to send for the gentlemen wayters that were absent to gyve there attendance”.⁴²²

However, like the rest of the archbishop’s waiting staff he too was forbidden to leave the house unless on business:

“Neyther was yt lawfull for the gentleman ussher in his wayting weeke unlesse he attended upon the Lord hym selfe to goe any where owt of the howse without the lycence of a hedd Officer, nor owt of the greate

⁴¹⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.2)

⁴¹⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.8)

⁴¹⁹ LPL MS. 884 (f.11)

⁴²⁰ LPL MS. 884 (f.11)

⁴²¹ LPL MS. 884 (f.12)

⁴²² LPL MS. 884 (f.2)

chamber at any tyme unles a hedd Officer were in place, and made privy unto yt, or that he had in his absence substituted his fellowe to waight for hym tyll his retorne Soe that from the howres before mentioned both winter and sommer untill ix of the clocke at night, he and his company were were sic bounde to gyve their Attendance in the greate chamber”.⁴²³

2c) *Livery*

Alongside their wages the archbishop’s staff were permitted a livery. This had two components the first of which was a livery uniform “of the Lords color”.⁴²⁴ However, livery also included a provision of necessary items and food that were permitted to all members of the household including the archbishop himself and his guests. These were the items that were required for daily life and there was a strict system governing how much each household member was permitted. Although the ordinances do not layout the allowance specifically we can get some idea of what was allowed:

“yt is ordained that the Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller, take to them selfe, as they maie gyve good example to the howshold, and that ev r y two Chapleynes and gentlemen have for their liv r y ev r y night from Alhollantyde to goodfrydaie two shids of woodd, two white lighte, and halfe a lofe of howshold breade, a quart of beare or ale And from Goodfrydaie, to Alhollantide breade bere, or ale only, And that no mans servant take any wodd wthout deliv r annce of the hussers, or keeper of the wooddyard And that the Doctors in stedd of howshold breade shall have manchetts”.⁴²⁵

⁴²³ LPL MS. 884 (ff.2-2v)

⁴²⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.8)

⁴²⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.11v)

It is clear from this both that the quantity and quality of livery was dependent on status and that livery was rationed seasonally so that firewood was not distributed during the summer when it was not necessary to heat the rooms. There was also close control over the quantities that were being used and it is evident that attempts were made to prevent unnecessary waste. Thus it was instructed that the Grooms of the Chamber “fetch no woodd, light, nor waxe more then reasonable ought to be spent”.⁴²⁶

Guests to the house who were allowed lodging and were allocated a chamber were also permitted a livery. The Ushers of the Chamber were told to ensure that they “lacke neither bere, ale wyne, nor fyer ne candles in tyme of the yere” and that their rooms were furnished with a cupboard cloth, a basin and ewer, wax and a towel.⁴²⁷ The archbishop’s own chamber was similarly furnished each evening. His room was to be laid every evening between 7 and 8 o’clock in readiness for the archbishop to retire to his own room at 9 o’clock. The ordinance instructed that “no lyv r y be made nor delyved, after my Lorde be served for all night” which suggests that once he had gone to his own bedroom he was not to be disturbed.⁴²⁸

2d) Discipline and Rewards

To ensure that Knole was the well ordered house the archbishop required it to be a system of discipline and rewards was crucial. The household were both required to respect a code of behaviour and to carry out their jobs well and honestly. In regulating the former the rule book stated:

“Itm that everie p er son of howshold of what degree or condicon he be abstaine hym selfe from all manner of othes, uncomely language, wordes of ribaldry, mocking and scorning, vicious rewle, and suspect places, and make no debates, pick no quarrells, nor smite any p er son for any manner of cause or occasion gyven by word or deede, or keepe any dogg es wthin the howshold, or make any noyse by night, as

⁴²⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.11v)

⁴²⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.11)

⁴²⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.11v)

shoting, cryeng, and blowing of horns whereby any sclannder or
noyannce maie growe wthin, or wthout”.⁴²⁹

In order to prevent theft the ordinances also required that no food and drink or items belonging to the house should be removed beyond the gates and that no doors or windows were broken or their locks picked.⁴³⁰ Each chamber or office had a lock, the key for which the occupant was responsible for. However, when the household left to follow the archbishop to a new house each key had to be returned.⁴³¹

In carrying out their jobs each member of the household was required to act professionally and keep account of any money, goods or provisions they were responsible for. Any shortcoming in their accounting or misbehaviour in their office was punishable. Like much of the household’s activities this was managed from the Counting House:

“Itm yf it so be that the hedd officers finde any officer wasting, or
outragious, they shall send for them into the counting howse, and there
examyn hym of his trespas”.⁴³²

Any accounting errors or loss or damage of goods were paid for out of the wages of the person responsible.⁴³³ However, in general the statutes prescribed one system of punishment for any rule breaking:

“The penaltie of all the Statutes. First by discreete warning. The next
dischardge hym the howse with his horse yf he have any for vij daies.
The third warning to dischardge hym likewise for xiiij daies, And at the

⁴²⁹ LPL MS. 884 (ff.8-8v)

⁴³⁰ LPL MS. 884 (f.8v)

⁴³¹ LPL MS. 884 (f.8)

⁴³² LPL MS. 884 (f.8v)

⁴³³ LPL MS. 884 (f.8v)

fowrth tyme to deliver hym his wagis and put hym cleane owt of service”.⁴³⁴

In many respects the system of punishment appears quite lenient and certainly quite enlightened. It is not clear whether those discharged from the house for weekly or fortnightly periods also incurred a cessation of wages, but the punishment must have had an attendant financial burden since the offender could not draw livery during the period and was presumably forced to pay for his own food and lodging.

The Head Officers ensured that the house was well run by conducting daily rounds. Every day they would visit each office to ensure that it was functioning as it should and to see to “the guyding ... rule and disposicions of the said offices”.⁴³⁵ However, where praise was earned it was duly given and the rewards of the house could be generous:

“what Officer is seene most courteous, most obedient, and most diligent, and can do best service, of what degree he be that he shewed to my Lorde, that he maie be furthered to a better service, or marriage, whereby all other p er sons maie take example to doe the better service for my Lords hono[r]”.⁴³⁶

The promise of promotion brought with it the chance of a higher wage and more generous livery and if, as we might assume by ‘better marriage’ we can read ‘better dowry’, the reward could also be financially lucrative. A later archiepiscopal ordinance made it clear that no member of staff could get married without permission from the archbishop as head of the household *familia*, so it was a reward that was very much under the control of the household.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.18v)

⁴³⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.10)

⁴³⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.10)

⁴³⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f. 31v)

On occasions the infraction was so serious that it called for the jurisdiction of a higher authority. The archbishop's household did not have a legal right to punish members of the household who had committed serious criminal offences. Thus in 1518, during Warham's time as archbishop, when a fight broke out at Knole which led to a murder it was the secular authorities that tried the perpetrator. The coroner's report records that an argument began between a Thomas Ludlow and another man who shared the archbishop's name, William Warham (presumably because he had grown up in the archbishop's household).⁴³⁸ The events the coroner describes took place in "le Kepers house" in the park at Knole, which was probably the same house that in 1481 was granted to the Keeper of the park and manor at Knole and was recorded then as, "*quandam domum infra parcum predictum vocatam le Logge situatam ex parte orientali ejusdem parci*" [a certain house in the aforesaid park called 'le Logge' which is in the eastern part of that park].⁴³⁹ When the argument became violent Warham tried to escape and hide in the house but could not escape and was stabbed in the left side of his stomach with a "Wodeknyf" during a 'furious and violent' attack. Ludlow was taken and kept in the Marshalsea prison but when his case was considered it seems that he was pardoned and released on the grounds that he had acted in self-defence.⁴⁴⁰

2e) The Porter and the Gates

The Porter's main role was to control the gate of the house and manage the flow of people in and out of the property. However he also had a secondary responsibility for helping to maintain discipline within the household. Cranmer's ordinance is quiet about this role except to say that if any of household staff refused to answer a summons to the Counting House they would be brought there (presumably forcibly) by a Porter.⁴⁴¹ Their position as keeper of the gate meant that they acted as security for the house and it seems that they policed the interior as well as watching the exterior. Given this duty it is possible that they had access to arms. Certainly the inventory drawn up on Cranmer's death shows that the archbishop kept a well stocked armoury that contained items such as breastplates and helmets, bows and arrows, swords and spears, guns and canons and

⁴³⁸ TNA C 66 632 (21) *L&P*, II, ii, 4109

⁴³⁹ Du Boulay, *Registrum Thome Bourghier*, pp. 72-74

⁴⁴⁰ TNA C 66 632 (21) *L&P*, II, ii, 4109

⁴⁴¹ LPL MS. 884 (f.13)

many other pieces.⁴⁴² Furthermore, in some houses the Porter's Lodge itself acted as a lock-up for those breaking the household's rules. At Lambeth Palace the brick gatehouse built by Archbishop Morton seems to conform to this pattern, having a small prison room in its south-east corner and at Titchfield in Hampshire the bars in the window of the ground floor turret room on the south-west corner of the gatehouse suggest the same function.⁴⁴³ We cannot, however, confirm whether this was the case at Knole since alterations to the Porter's Lodge (G.21 / G.22 / G.23) on the north side of the Outer Wicket have hidden its original plan.

In Cranmer's ordinance it is in their keeping of the gate that the Porters are most visible and it was evidently their principal responsibility. Their role responded to and maintained, to an extent, the rhythms of the household since their working day reflected the house's day and changed with the seasons. It was, therefore, set out in the statutes that:

“the porters shall dewly and truly keepe my Lordes gates from fowre of the clocke in the morning unto ix of the clocke in the evening from the xvth daie of marche unto the xvth daie of Octob er , And from v of the clocke in the morning unto viij of the clocke in the evening, from the xvth of Octob er unto the xvth of m[ar]ch”.⁴⁴⁴

During the day they monitored the flow of people and goods into and out of the house, ensuring that undesirable persons were not admitted and that those leaving were not skipping duties or removing property or food without permission.

2f) The Daily Meals

The Porters themselves took their meals before the rest of the household and were allowed to take a mess (or plate) of meat back to their lodge to eat there.⁴⁴⁵ This was

⁴⁴² TNA E 154 2 39 (ff.68v-69r)

⁴⁴³ T. Tatton-Brown, *Lambeth Palace: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and their Houses*, (London: 2000), pp. 53-54

⁴⁴⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.10v)

⁴⁴⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.10v)

unusual since the rest of the household were forbidden to eat in their offices but it reflected the importance of the Porters' role during the household's communal mealtimes. From the time that dinner or supper began until such time as everyone had finished their meals the Porter was required to keep the gate closed. This could, presumably, be quite an extended period of time since the size of the household required that there were two sittings of each meal. If whilst the gate was closed anybody arrived at the house and requested entry the Porters were instructed:

“curteously to answer hym and to knowe the cause of his comyng, And yf he be a p[er]son of honestie to take hym into his Lodge, and to send for the p[er]son whome he would speake wth. And yf he be suche a p[er]sonne as would speake wth my Lorde then the Porters to come to an hedd Officer and shewe to hym such a p[er]son is wth in his Lodge to thentent he maie fellowship hym, and so by hym the matter to be shewed to my Lord, or els the p[er]sonne to be brought unto hym”.⁴⁴⁶

The gathering together of the whole household for dinner and supper and the consequent desertion of and lack of supervision for the rest of the house brought with it an attendant security risk that was intended to be alleviated by this ordinance. It also, however, seems to reveal the perceived importance of the communal meal for it evidently brought with it a complete cessation of business activities meaning that people could not easily leave the table to meet visitors or skip dinner to attend to meetings.

On a daily basis the principal dining spaces were the Great Hall and the Great Chamber. For mealtimes the hall was prepared with “bourds, trestles, formes, rushes and strewing” and it seems likely that the Great Chamber was similarly laid.⁴⁴⁷ There is no suggestion in the ordinances of the time at which meals were served, although we may assume that dinner was eaten in the late-morning and supper in the mid- to late-afternoon.⁴⁴⁸ To a degree there may have been flexibility in the timings since the Ushers

⁴⁴⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.10v)

⁴⁴⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.12v)

⁴⁴⁸ Girouard, p. 47

of the Chamber were required to send instruction to the requisite officers as to when the archbishop's meals should be prepared.⁴⁴⁹

At the first sitting the higher status members of the household were served by their lower status servants who themselves then ate at the second sitting. Thus in the Great Hall it was instructed that, "no mans servant sit in the hall, unto such tyme as they have served the hall", and in the Great Chamber the waiters there were told that, "Imediatly after they have done retorne downe into the hall to dynner or supp[er] wthout tarrieng in the chamber".⁴⁵⁰ Also eating at the second sitting were all the members of the kitchen staff including the, "Cooke Larderers, Squillerers, Butchers, and Catours in like wise except Children of the Kytchyn, and Squillery keepe the saide hall at the later dynner, And the said Children to allowed them at ev er y meale two ~~w~~h hote loves, and bere, or ale at the discretion of the Clerke of the Kytchyn".⁴⁵¹

In both chambers the meals were served with some ceremony. A sense of the ceremony can be had from the instructions to the waiters at the archbishop's table:

"Itm that the husscher when the Lord dyneth abrode shall appoynte the Kerver, Sewer, and Cupbearer, and gentlemen waighters for my Lords borde, and that no p er sonne serve at my Lords borde, before he hath receyved his othe in the Counting howse, nor that any Kerver, Sewer, nor Cupbearer convey awaie any dysshes from my Lords table wthout lycence of my Lorde, or of the Almoner, nor that the Sewer dylyver any dishe to be borne to my Lords borde but only by gentlemen yf they be present, And after the Kerver and Sewer have wasshed their hande to touche nor medle wth any manner of thing, save only that w^{ch} they be appoynted".⁴⁵²

Here the archbishop was served with all due dignity and a show of ceremony was put on to emphasise the house's hierarchical relationships. In the Great Hall a similar show of

⁴⁴⁹ LPL MS. 884 (f.10v)

⁴⁵⁰ LPL MS. 884 (ff.8v 12)

⁴⁵¹ LPL MS. 884 (f.16)

⁴⁵² LPL MS. 884 (f.11)

hierarchy was enacted. The Head Officers sat at the top of the hall and were only joined at their table by invited guests and it was ensured that all other guests to the hall were sat according to their status; no household man was to bring “any stranger to be sett in the hall but first he shewe to an hedd Officer or marshall, and to tell of what Condiscon he be of to thintent he maie be sett thereafter yf he be a gent to sit like a gent, yf he be a yoman to sitt as a yoman, A grome, as a grome”.⁴⁵³ However, despite efforts to ensure that the mealtimes in the Great Hall were formal occasions it seems that bad behaviour was not unknown. Given that the ordinances found it necessary to state that, “at tyme of breakefast and dynner that there be no kombing of hedde, leaping, wrastling, or any other unthriftie or lewde towches, evill language, or railing”, suggests that such things occurred all too regularly.

At the end of the meal everyone contributed their leftover food to the Almoner’s dish. The collection of food scraps was considered so important that even the Porters and any workmen who had eaten outside of the hall were required to return their remains.⁴⁵⁴ This provided a visible form of charity and added to the hospitable and Christian image of the archbishop (although it was not an activity practised only by the episcopacy since Almoners were found in royal and secular houses too). Cranmer’s Almoner was instructed to, “to locke up the releves of breade, drinke and meate aswell of the chamber as of the hall, and diligently keepe yt from devouring of doggs. And to put it in a cleane vessell And truely to distribute at the gate, to poore people iij or iiij daies in the weeke by his discretion”.⁴⁵⁵ The ordinances are clear, however, that the archbishop’s own tenants should be the first in the queue to receive the alms dish. Although this charitable gift of food was undoubtedly important it is apparent that not all the leftover food found its way into the alms dish. It seems that the alms dish was made only from the food from people’s plates since, in an effort to promote economy and prevent waste, any meat that had not been served was to be, “safely kept by the Larderer, or at his owne hand, And so be served at other meales, Against the w^{ch} meales, lesse to be p[re]pared”.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵³ LPL MS. 884 (f.12v)

⁴⁵⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.12)

⁴⁵⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.17)

⁴⁵⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.20v)

2g) *The Kitchens and Food Production*

Given the size of the household the production of food was a large and complex operation. At its heart was the kitchen that produced numerous cooked dishes. However, it was supported by many ancillary offices including bakers, butchers, brewers and so forth.

Much of the food came from Knole's main kitchen (G.99). The menus, however, were strictly controlled from the Counting House and the quality and seasoning of the food produced was constantly monitored. Each day the cooks and larderers reported to the Counting House to be given instruction on what food they should produce that day and were told of any faults in the previous day's food.⁴⁵⁷ In order to ensure that the archbishop's food was of the highest quality (and possibly also as a reflection of a residual fear of poisoning) he was served from a privy kitchen. The ordinances instructed:

“that the Cookes keepe my Lords privie kytchyn for his owne mouth, and his meate to be drest aparte holsomely and seasonably, ... And that they suffer no mann er of p er son of howshold ne stranger come into the p ri vie kytchyn, and in speciall nigh to my Lords vitaill for his mouth”.⁴⁵⁸

It is made clear that the privy kitchen was physically separate from the main kitchens, not simply a sub-department of it. At Knole it is likely that the privy kitchen is represented architecturally by the large redundant arched opening in the north-east corner of the house (Fig.87). Although the function of the arch has been lost by subsequent alterations to the surrounding building it is apparent that it was formerly a large fireplace. In appearance it is similar to the fireplaces in the main kitchen and it sits directly below the large chimney breast that now serves only the Leicester Gallery fireplace but seems too large to have been built solely for that one fire. The Privy Kitchen may, therefore, once have been in the ground floor space now occupied by a

⁴⁵⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.15v)

⁴⁵⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.15v)

room known as the Servants' Hall (G.115) although must have originally stretched further north since the north wall of the Servants' Hall dissects the fireplace arch.

Any sauces to accompany dinner were made in the scullery or saucery. Every morning an officer of the scullery was instructed to visit the kitchen to find out what dishes were being prepared that day, "to thintent they maie prepare sawce convenient for the same meate".⁴⁵⁹ In addition they also produced the sauces and condiments that could be stored:

"Itm it is ordayned that a yoman, or grome of the Squillery, or sawcery in tyme of season of the yere gather crabbes, and stamp them and make of them Veriuis for the Lords howshold, And to p re pare instruments therefore, And in likewise to make all other sawces throughout the yere, as musterd, vineger and veriuis".⁴⁶⁰

Vinegars were produced with the spoilt wine from the cellars where a vessel was kept in which to collect it.⁴⁶¹ The cellars were well stocked with beer, ale, wine and malmsey. It is interesting to see that although they were primarily storage spaces they could also, on occasion be used as entertaining space to supplement the Great Hall and the Great Chamber. In the instructions to the Butlers of the Cellar it was stated that they should not:

"keepe any eatinge, or drinkinge, nor communicacons in the Seller, wthout my Lords commanndem en t in that behalfe except yt be for a straunger for my Lords hono[r], or that an hedd Officer be p[re]sent".

By this statement we see a likely justification for the wall paintings in Knole's cellar (Figs.88-95). It is clear that it was a space into which specially invited guests could be

⁴⁵⁹ LPL MS. 884 (f.17)

⁴⁶⁰ LPL MS. 884 (f.17); "Veriuis" or verjuice was a widely used sour sauce often made from unripe grapes but here made using crab apples.

⁴⁶¹ LPL MS. 884 (f.14v)

brought to drink and be entertained by the household officers. It was not a place for lower household staff but a place in which to show off the archbishop's hospitality to visitors to the house. The inclusion of personal motifs and heraldic symbols in the decorative scheme evidently reinforced the message of Christian largesse that the hospitality given in the space was meant to impart.

Bread was a staple of the diet and the bakery was expected to produce large amounts to satisfy demand. It was set out in the ordinances that every bushel of wheat should make thirty-two loafs each weighing twenty-three ounces. Flour was supplied to the bakery by the Garnator and he was required to ensure that it arrived at the house in sufficient time since the process of making the bread took several days. The flour was required to lie in the pantry for two to three days before being sifted and made into dough. Failure to deliver on time would mean that the archbishop could not be served with fresh hot bread and would have to be served instead with older bread from the store.⁴⁶²

The butchers employed by the archbishop had a dual role of both farming the animals and slaughtering them. The archbishop's estates grazed animals owned by him for use at his own table and the butchers were thus instructed to:

“see all Oxen, Sheepe, Porkes, Bores, Veales, and Lammes p[ro]vided for and kept as oft as it shalbe thought needfull. And after the season of the yere to change and dryve them from place to place, and that they have speciall heede in dryving of them. So that the said vitaille, nor any p ar te of them be hurt in theire default in hastye dryving as they will answeere at theire perrill. Nor that they suffer any cattaile in the Lords pastures saving only his owne”.⁴⁶³

Although their meat was destined for the archbishop's table, the rest of the animal carcass was utilised for profit. The butchers were thus told to remove the skins and tallow carefully and to dry them so that they could be sold on to tanners or chandlers.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶² LPL MS. 884 (ff.13-13v)

⁴⁶³ LPL MS. 884 (f.16v)

⁴⁶⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.16v)

2h) The Wardrobe and the Laundry

Cleanliness in the house was held in high importance. Many of the ordinances instruct the staff to “keepe cleane theire Offices and sweete” and Yeoman Ushers swept and cleaned the public rooms each morning.⁴⁶⁵ However, the cleanliness and wellbeing of the furnishings, hangings and clothes was the responsibility of the Lavender (or launderer) and the staff of the Wardrobe where such items were stored.

In the Wardrobe the cleaning routine was intensive. The Yeomen and Grooms of the Wardrobe were told that all “apparrell, Orras, tapestry, wollen, and lynnenn, and other stuff under theire handes” should be brushed, sponged clean and aired at least once a fortnight, but preferably once a week.⁴⁶⁶

In the laundry the work was just as frequent. Linen and cloth used in Chapel and the napery from the Great Hall and Great Chamber was to be washed as often as was needed and certainly at least twice a week. Clothes to be washed were collected from around the house “imediately after they be desoyled”, but the separation between those of the archbishop and those of his household was strictly maintained.⁴⁶⁷ The Launderer was to “wash no mans stuffe wth my Lords stuffe but suerly to keepe it and ... take heede suerly to all suche clothes, as shalbe under his hande, and that they be not changed, brent, torne, nor rent in wassing, noringing, pulling, or dryeng in his default”.⁴⁶⁸ Once the clothes were washed and dried they were to be “quickly receyved againe from the Laundry and cleanelly layed up wth sweete herbes in a chest iij or iiij daies at the lest before they be occupied”.⁴⁶⁹

2i) The Stables

The requirements for stabling at a house like Knole were vast. Woolgar estimated that Archbishop Bouchier had sixty horses in 1459 but this may have been a

⁴⁶⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.14v)

⁴⁶⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.18)

⁴⁶⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.18)

⁴⁶⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.15)

⁴⁶⁹ LPL MS. 884 (f.18)

conservative estimate of how much stable space was actually required.⁴⁷⁰ Each member of the household was permitted to keep a number of horses dependent on his status and the archbishop himself owned different horses for fulfilling different roles. Thus a bill for replacing the locks on the stables at Knole in c.1516-18 shows that there were at least three separate stables; “my lord[es] stable”, “the crossehorse stable” and “M[aster Survey[ors] stable”.⁴⁷¹ In reality there may have been more stables than even this document suggests. A sense of the number of horses needed just to serve a small part of the household can be gained from the ordinances under the title “Ryding in the company of the Lord”:

“Itm yt is ordeyned that every p er sonne of howshold at such seasons as my Lord rideth, ryde not owt of my Lords company, except such as shalbe appoynted wth the Sumpter horse, ... And that every of the said p er sons and officers ride according to their degrees, hedd Officers next unto my Lord, except the Crossebearer, And next after my Lord, doctors, and chaplaines And then yomen, And after them gromes, pages and males”.⁴⁷²

In addition stabling was required for all the horses brought to the house by visitors and their retinues. A further recognition of the numbers of horses this might include is implied in the instruction the keepers of the horses to “keepe well and trewly other mens horses that be to hym assigned as his owne masters v at the lest, and vj in tyme of neede”.⁴⁷³

Keeping horses incurred an attendant amount of expenditure, much of which went on equipment including “saddles, horse harnes, watering bridles, halters, regines, framells, pastrons, sursingles, girthes, bitts, colers, or any other stuffe”.⁴⁷⁴ However, there was also food to be bought and it was instructed that “everie gelding should have

⁴⁷⁰ Woolgar, pp.12-13

⁴⁷¹ LPL ED 1257-5

⁴⁷² LPL MS. 884 (ff.9v-10)

⁴⁷³ LPL MS. 884 (f.17v)

⁴⁷⁴ LPL MS. 884 (f.17v)

weekly a bussell of otes, and every stoned horse a bussell and a halfe”.⁴⁷⁵ In addition there were loafes of bread baked specially in the bakery for the horses.⁴⁷⁶

3) The Archbishop at Home: Understanding the Functions of Domestic Space

As we have already contended, the evidence for the archbishops’ day-to-day lives is scarce. Little can be said with any certainty about how they occupied their time in their houses since most of the documentary sources do not consider them in a degree of descriptive detail that would allow a complete analysis of archiepiscopal domestic routine. We cannot, therefore, say with any certainty how the archbishop split his time on a normal day what proportions of the day were set aside for work, for leisure, for prayer and so forth. Similarly it is difficult to place his movements within the physical spaces of the house. However, on occasion some suggestions do emerge. Cranmer’s ordinances, for example, instruct the staff of the Great Chamber to be:

“daily attendante upon my Lorde in his great chamb[er] by vj of the clocke in the morning unto his departure unto his owne ~~chamber~~ lodging towarde his bedd at night”.⁴⁷⁷

We see, therefore, a suggestion both of space and time. But we cannot see what the archbishop did in his Great Chamber and we risk imagining that he spent his whole day seated there without moving into other parts of the building. On the contrary the ordinances make it clear that amongst his own lodgings he also had a “secrete” chamber presumably a place to which he might escape his household and enjoy some degree of privacy since the ushers of the chamber are instructed not to enter “wthout he be admitted by my Lord”.⁴⁷⁸ His activities in his own chambers are, however, naturally even more poorly recorded than those in the public state rooms.

⁴⁷⁵ LPL MS. 884 (f.6)

⁴⁷⁶ LPL MS. 884 (f.13)

⁴⁷⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.11)

⁴⁷⁸ LPL MS. 884 (f.11)

To overcome and augment the vague inferences of the evidence for the day-to-day life of the houses these chapters will turn to the much richer descriptions of the great spectacles and occasions of the house. These were events that were not daily occurrences and which were only experienced every so often in the life of the building. The vast and lavish feast laid on in the palace at Canterbury to celebrate Archbishop Warham's enthronement stands as a perfect example. It is neither illustrative of daily life nor is it directly related to the house at Knole but in its vivid description of a building in use it furnishes us with important information about the functions of space in an archiepiscopal house.

The intention of the following chapters, therefore, will be to use such information both for the rich descriptiveness of its narrative and for its analytical potential. We will discuss a series of distinct events that are representative of the themes of the archbishops' domestic lives. Not all the events covered here happened at Knole. Whilst Knole provides the focus and the evidence where possible, the discussion will also see us move between the archbishops' palaces at Lambeth and Canterbury as well as to the houses of his royal, noble and ecclesiastical contemporaries. We cannot, of course, hope to use this material to build a minute-by-minute account of the archbishops' daily lives; this sort of evidence would not allow it. Instead what we aim to do is to analyse how the archbishop understood the functions of his houses by using the narratives of the events to illustrate the operational requirement of domestic space.

Of course, this must all come with a caveat. We cannot see Knole as having the same functions *per se* as Lambeth or the archbishops' other houses. Each, in different locations and with different characters, undoubtedly fulfilled different roles, at different times for different archbishops. We might make a useful comparison with Simon Thurley's conclusions about Cardinal Wolsey's differing uses of his houses at York Place in London and at Hampton Court. York Place, Thurley argues, was Wolsey's working base, his office in London. Hampton Court, on the other hand, was a place of leisure and a house in which to entertain the king and his guests.⁴⁷⁹ It is likely that similar differentiation existed between the archiepiscopal houses and for that reason we acknowledge that care must be taken in the following discussions when applying evidence from elsewhere to our analysis of Knole.

⁴⁷⁹ Thurley, 'The domestic building works of Cardinal Wolsey', pp. 87-88

3a) *Retreat, Retirement and Death*

In the summer of 1500 the plague returned to the city of London.⁴⁸⁰ Fearful for his health in the infected air and already probably feeling the ill effects of old age, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal John Morton, retreated to Knole. Up on its hill in the countryside outside of Sevenoaks where the air was fresh, the soil dry and with a constant supply of clean spring water, Knole was a sensible choice as a place of refuge from the ravages of the disease. Archbishop Bouchier had also favoured it as a place of retreat. Age and creeping infirmity had forced him into a state of semi-retirement and the increased frequency with which the letters and papers in his register are dated from Knole between 1479 and his death there in 1486 suggest that it was at his house in Sevenoaks that he chose to live out his last days in peace (Fig.9a).

By the 1520s Knole's desirability as a place of retreat was evidently well known amongst the archbishop's peers for it was being written about directly. Replying to a letter from his great rival, Thomas Wolsey in 1523, whilst he himself was suffering from a bout of ill-health, Archbishop Warham thanked the Cardinal for advising him to make his "abode in high and drye grounde as Knoll and suche other".⁴⁸¹ And it was, in part at least, for this reason that the archbishops lost the house to Henry VIII in 1538. Cranmer, facing the prospect of the confiscation of many of his richest properties, pleaded with the king to allow him to retain Knole for himself. Henry, however, rejected Cranmer's pleas and claimed the palace, extolling the virtues that had made it so popular with the archbishops:

"Marye, (saied the king,) I had rather have it [Knole] than this house, (meanyng Otteforde,) for it standith of a better soile. This house standith lowe, and is rewmatike, like unto Croydon, where I colde never be withoute sycknes. And as for Knoll standeth on a sounde, perfaite, holsome grounde".⁴⁸²

⁴⁸⁰ Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d.1500)', p. 425

⁴⁸¹ TNA SP 1 26

⁴⁸² Gough Nichols, *Narratives*, p. 266

By the late Middle Ages, and certainly by the time Henry VIII was discussing Knole's merits in the 1530s, it was widely acknowledged that healthy living could be ensured by a well situated house. According to the instructional literature that was becoming more popular at the time, the site should have a good climate and be well draining.⁴⁸³ In words that illustrate the universality of Henry's concerns, William Horman had written in 1519 that, "A mannys dwellynge shulde be chosen out: if it maye be where is an holsome soyle bothe wynter and sommer. ... The hylley countrey rounde about us kepeth away parellous wyndis and pestylent infections".⁴⁸⁴ Knole met all these requirements and as such the use of the house as a retreat was a function that was unique to it.

This seems to be confirmed by the peculiarity of Knole's location in relation to the town of Sevenoaks. If there is one characteristic that defines archiepiscopal houses it is that they were usually built next to churches and in an apparent confirmation that this was an accepted rule William Horman's *Vulgaria* states that, "The bysshops palayce is harde by the churche".⁴⁸⁵ Certainly the houses at Lambeth, Croydon, Otford, Aldington, Charing, Maidstone, Mayfield and Slindon are all beside the parish church. Knole, however, is deliberately isolated and although St. Nicholas, Sevenoaks is near to the current main entrance to Knole Park, Bouchier seems to have chosen the site to remain away from centres of activity.

With this conclusion in mind we might usefully compare Knole with Otford. Although built on low, waterlogged, unhealthy ground and seemingly unpopular with Henry VIII, Otford nonetheless, was, of the two properties, the house that Henry had visited the most. There are several vague secondary references to royal visits to Knole none, however, can be proven for we have found no conclusive primary evidence with which to support such assumptions.⁴⁸⁶ Henry clearly knew Knole for the way in which he speaks of it as standing on good soil indicates that he may have paid a visit but the lack of a record of any visit suggests that it was brief. Most likely he rode up the hill from Otford during one of his more easily evidenced stays at that house. It was, as we have previously seen, at Otford that Henry stayed on his way to the Field of Cloth of

⁴⁸³ Howard, p. 19

⁴⁸⁴ W. Horman, *Vulgaria*, James, M.R. (ed.), (London 1926), pp. 203 210

⁴⁸⁵ Horman, p. 352

⁴⁸⁶ For example Bridgman, p. 6

Gold despite its proximity to Knole. And it was to Otford and not Knole that Cardinal Campeggio came in 1518. We might, therefore, suggest a similar dichotomy of function such as Thurley has pointed out existed between York Place and Hampton Court ⁴⁸⁷

Knole was the secluded private retreat whilst Otford, certainly after its extension by Warham, was the great archiepiscopal pleasure palace.

For Morton, as it had been for Bouchier, Knole was a place of death. Even the fresh air and dry soil could not save the ailing archbishop from old age and illness and, on September 15th 1500, he died. ⁴⁸⁸ His passing had undoubtedly been meticulously planned for by the household. Morton had written his will in June 1500 and was, one assumes, already beginning to sense his own mortality. When he retired to Knole in August of that year he may have already known that he would not be leaving his Sevenoaks home alive. The circumstances of Morton's death have not been recorded but an idea of the ritual of the event can be appropriated from George Cavendish's vivid account of Cardinal Wolsey's death in 1530. In Wolsey's room at Leicester Abbey, where he was to die, there were, "waxe lightes burnyng vppon the Cupbord", and the window shutters were closed to block out the sunlight. ⁴⁸⁹ The archbishop's room at Knole was probably similarly furnished. Gathered around Morton's bedside to help administer the sacraments and to ensure that the archbishop had what the *Ars Moriendi* termed 'a good death' were his physicians, chaplains, family, friends and members of his household ⁴⁹⁰ amongst them were, Jon Fyneux knight, Chief Justice master Hugh Pentwyn and William Barons, doctors of law Clement Broun, Professor of Theology and Roger Bourne (or Bower), Bachelor of Theology, both chaplains in Morton's household Robert Rede, a justice of the King Robert Turbervile Ralph Seyntleger and Edward Ferrers esq. ⁴⁹¹ The archbishop's small chamber was surely host to a great number of people clambering to pay their last respects.

Immediately following Wolsey's death Cavendish recounts how:

⁴⁸⁷ Thurley, 'The domestic building work of Cardinal Wolsey', pp. 87-88

⁴⁸⁸ Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d.1500)', p. 425

⁴⁸⁹ G. Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, Sylvester, R.S. (ed.), (Oxford: 1959), p. 174

⁴⁹⁰ C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550*, (London: 1997), p. 37

⁴⁹¹ These men are all recorded as being at Knole on the day after Morton's death, 16th September 1500 TNA C54 361

“The body was taken owt of the bed where he lay deade [...] wherein he was buried and layed in a Coffen of bordes hauyng vppon his dead Corps all suche vestures ornaments as he was professed in whan he was consecrated bysshope Archebysshope As myter crosseer ryng palle w^t all other thynges appurtenaunt to his profession And lyeng thus all day in his Coffen opyn and bare faced that all men myght see hyme lye there deade ... at nyght he was caried so down in to the chyrche w^t great solempnyte by the Abbott Couent w^t many torches lyght syngyng suche seruyce as is dewe for suche ffuneralles And beyng in the churche the Corps was sett in our lady chappell w^t many dyuers poore men syttyng about the same holdyng of Torches lyght in ther handes who watched abought the dead body all nyght wyllest the Chanons sang dirige and other devout Orisons And abought iiij^{or} of the clocke in the mornyng they sang masse”.⁴⁹²

Morton’s body must have been treated to similar solemnities and, dressed in all the finery of his office, was laid out in the chapel at Knole where his chaplains and clerks interceded with masses for his soul. How long the corpse lay at Knole is not known, but expediency would suggest that the coffin and its procession of mourners departed from the house within a day or two of the death.⁴⁹³ On route to his funeral at Canterbury his body may have followed the road that it had so many times in life, perhaps resting over night in the chapels of his houses at Maidstone, Charing and Chartham a journey that he had first made in the week before his enthronement in the cathedral where he was now to be interred.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹² Cavendish, pp. 182-183

⁴⁹³ When Morton’s successor, Archbishop Henry Deane, died at Lambeth on 15th February 1502-3, “The corpse was transported by the Thames to Faversham in a barge, attended by thirty-three mariners in black attire, with candles burning and thence conveyed by the same attendants to Canterbury in a funeral car (*feretro*). Upon the coffin was placed an effigy (*ad similitudinem*), sumptuously vested in pontificals sixty gentlemen accompanied the procession on horseback; fifty torches burning around the corpse.” Bathurst Deane, p. 260

⁴⁹⁴ J. Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus britannicis collectanea*, Vol. IV (London: 1770), p. 208

3b) Business: The Great Seal, Heresy Trials and Petitions

At Knole, however, whilst the household mourned, the palace continued to play host to the wider affairs of state. In March 1487 Morton had been made Chancellor, an office that had brought with it responsibility for the Great Seal. His death necessitated that this important and powerful object was returned to the King and thence to Morton's successor. Sensing that the archbishop's passing was imminent Henry VII had dispatched his dean of the chapel, Richard Nikke, to Knole on the 14th September, the day before the archbishop's death. He carried with him a letter instructing Morton's executors to deliver up to him the Great Seal. A memorandum amongst the State Papers records that Nikke received the seal from them on 16th September wrapped in a white leather bag sealed closed with Morton's signet pressed into white wax. The exchange took place in a room at Knole named in the memorandum as 'le Rake Chamber'.⁴⁹⁵ Where this room was within the house or what function it played is a mystery. It is described in the document as a 'high chamber' but the etymology of the word 'Rake' throws little light onto a possible identification of its location, uses or appearance and, whilst one assumes that it was a space with some degree of status, whether it can safely be identified as one of the principal state rooms is more difficult to say with any certainty. What can be said, however, is that the room was judged worthy to have been noted down by name in the official documentary account and was of enough importance to have been used as the space in which to hand over the seal, a process that undoubtedly involved some amount of ceremony and thus was probably requiring of a room setting of sufficient dignity.

Although Knole could offer the archbishops a place of retreat, it evidently acted as a place of business too. Sufficient numbers of documents amongst the State Papers and register books survive that were dated at Knole throughout the tenures of each of the house's archiepiscopal owners (the exception being Henry Deane) to show that the archbishops regularly used the house as an office. The processes and locations within the house of the performance of the day-to-day tasks of his office, such as the letter writing that forms these bureaucratic paper-trails, is unknown. It is likely that he worked either in his Great Chamber or in a Privy Chamber aided by advisors but there is no evidence with which to confirm the assumption.

⁴⁹⁵ TNA C 54 361

On occasions, however, Knole could be used as the location for the enactment of the more public business functions of the archiepiscopal office and from these the use of the house can be most clearly illustrated. The most notable were the heresy trials which Archbishop Warham oversaw between April 1511 and June 1512.⁴⁹⁶ On 28th April 1511 Warham was sat in state in the Chapel at Knole. Surrounding him were a group of his closest advisors and some of the country's most knowledgeable legal brains; amongst them was Cuthbert Tunstall, later to become Bishop of Durham and London, but here in attendance for his understanding of canon law. On this occasion, however, the attention of all these great minds was focused, not on the archbishop, but on the 60-year-old man who presented himself nervously before them. He was a citizen of Canterbury named Robert Harryson and he had every reason to feel nervous, for Harryson had been brought before the assembled clerics, lawyers and clerks as a prisoner, and his fate now lay in their hands.⁴⁹⁷ At the time there were fears of a resurgence of Lollard heretics openly criticising the established church and Harryson's trial was part of a nationwide purge. Bishops Fitzjames of London, Smith of Lincoln and Blyth of Coventry and Lichfield all opened proceedings against dissenters in their diocese. It was Warham, however, who dealt the strictest blows, and the trials that he conducted in Kent between 28th April 1511 and 28th June 1512 saw fifty-three local men and women charged with heresy, and all but one of them convicted of their crimes. Most of the trials took place in the Chapel, the Great Hall or the archbishop's oratory at Knole, but some were held at Lambeth Palace and others in his houses at Canterbury and Maidstone as well as in churches in Maidstone, Saltwood, Otford and at St Nicholas's in Sevenoaks.

Robert Harryson's trial opened the proceedings at Knole. In the silence of the Chapel his crimes were read out. He faced thirteen charges in all and his trespasses cut right to the heart of the established order of the Catholic Church. He had for example, it was claimed, expressed the opinions that the sacrament of the Eucharist offered at the altar was not the true body of Christ and that baptism, confirmation and confession were not necessary for the salvation of the soul. These were proto-Reformation views, and in

⁴⁹⁶ N. Tanner (ed.), *Kent Heresy Proceedings 1511-12*, (Maidstone: 1997)

⁴⁹⁷ Tanner, p. 1

England in 1511 they were still considered dangerous. Harryson, however, was unrepentant and to each of the charges he responded negatively.⁴⁹⁸

The following day, 29th April, Warham assembled the company together in the Great Hall at Knole. Amongst the crowd that stood before him were several of Harryson's friends and acquaintances, themselves prisoners and defendants in their own heresy trials. The archbishop addressed the room asking whether anyone present was prepared to swear on the Gospel and testify against Harryson. Perhaps recognising a chance to win leniency in their own cases three men and one woman stepped forward. On 30th April, once again amassed in the Chapel, Harryson's trial resumed and the witnesses were called. The first was Christopher Grebill a 22-year-old tailor from Cranbrook, whose parents were also facing charges of heresy. He told the court that whilst travelling with the defendant between Great Chart and Bathersden he heard Harryson say, "that pilgrimage going was not profitable to a man's soul but it was a lost labour. And in likewise that indulgences and pardons be of no effect nor profit, and that money or candles offered to images in the church [are] not profitable to men's souls". The second witness was a 40-year-old glover from Benenden named William Ryche who swore similarly that he had heard Harryson claim that, "the blessed sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ but only materially bread". His testimony was confirmed by the third witness, 64-year-old William Olberd, who said that on a different occasion he had discussed the same opinions together with Harryson, Ryche and another man. The final witness to be called was Agnes Ives, a 40-year-old widow from Canterbury who, having visited Harryson's house, recalled how he had begun to tell her his views on pilgrimage before he was cut short by the arrival at his door of several brothers from a nearby hospital.⁴⁹⁹

Their testimonies were damning, but it took the archbishop and his advisors a further two days to decide how to convict Robert Harryson. On 2nd May they called him back into the Chapel to learn his fate. He had been unrepentant to the last and had refused to abjure his beliefs and for that reason, Warham announced, he would be excommunicated and punished. The seriousness of Harryson's crimes, however, meant that his punishment must now be the responsibility of the secular arm of the law since the archbishop's own jurisdictional powers did not allow him to impose a sentence strict

⁴⁹⁸ Tanner, p. 3

⁴⁹⁹ Tanner, pp. 3-6

enough. Harryson was led away.⁵⁰⁰ From the trial documents that survive we do not learn of his ultimate fate, but it is almost certain that he was burnt at the stake. Amongst Harryson's co-defendants tried at Knole during the same period was William Carder. Like Harryson he was handed to the secular authorities for his punishment and it is clear that he was indeed burnt to death, for amongst the gruesome sentences handed to Grebill, Ryche, Olberde and Ives, the witnesses at Harryson's trial, was the requirement that they should be present to watch Carder's execution.⁵⁰¹ Harryson, we may assume, suffered the same untimely end.

In all Warham sentenced five of the heretics to death at the stake, of whom three had been tried at Knole. The majority of the original fifty-three defendants, however, recanted their sins and displayed to the archbishop a repentance that won them more lenient punishments. The range of sentences imposed by the court varied and all were carefully considered by Warham and his advisors to match the crimes appropriately. To seven of the defendants the archbishop handed a sentence of imprisonment for life. This was the most severe punishment after execution and the unlucky recipients were told that they would be confined to religious houses – the men to local monasteries and the women to convents. Like today's open prisons prisoners were allowed to roam a mile or so outside of the establishment (presumably to enable them to work in the fields during the day) and the possibility of early parole was suggested by the court.⁵⁰²

More typical of the sentences, however, was the series of penances imposed on John Lynche of Tenterden and Thomas Browne of Cranbrook. These two men were tried together in the archbishop's Oratory at Knole on 16th August 1511.⁵⁰³ Their crimes were similar to those of Harryson but unlike their co-defendant they had the good sense to recant their sins and escaped capital punishment. Instead Warham ordered that the pair undertake a series of symbolic penalties. For the following four Sundays, they were told, they should process through their parish churches carrying a faggot and, whilst the service was in progress and the Mass being performed, they should stand in the nave of the church holding the bundle of twigs. Similarly, for the space of one year they should wear a badge visibly on the upper left arm of their outer-garment depicting

⁵⁰⁰ Tanner, pp. 6-7

⁵⁰¹ Tanner, p. 36

⁵⁰² Tanner, p. xxv

⁵⁰³ Tanner, p. 87

a faggot these penances were clearly intended to remind them, and any witnesses, that the ultimate punishment for heresy was burning. In addition, Lynche and Browne were instructed to inform the archbishop immediately if they suspected anyone of heresy or of owning heretical books and finally they were forbidden from moving out of the parishes were they then lived without license from Warham or his successors.⁵⁰⁴

These were the most common penances administered by the archbishop, but others included recitations of the Lord's prayer, Hail Mary and creed, regular attendance at church services, fasting or abstinence, and making offerings of candles. Some individuals were handed dress restrictions five women, for example, were forbidden from wearing smocks on Fridays and John Grebill senior was banned from wearing a linen shirt on Wednesdays and Fridays. This punishment was to last for life but no explanation of its reason was given. Finally, one man, John Dodde, was simply ordered to treat his wife better. Again, no explanation was given.⁵⁰⁵

For fourteen months then Knole was at the centre of ecclesiastical judgements during the last age of English Catholicism. Today the Chapel and the Great Hall reveal little of the events of their pasts. For a short period in 1511 and 1512, however, as defendants were brought to the house for trial and stood before the archbishop uncertain of their fate Knole must have buzzed with an atmosphere of fear and expectation. Of course, these trials were unusual events not necessarily representative of everyday life in the house. Still, they do help to flesh out a narrative of Knole's functional history and, more pertinently, they illustrate clearly how the house could be used and how those uses were understood, not only in general operational terms, but also in the divisions and utilisations of different spaces. However, to get a clearer sense of the how the house operated as a place of business we might turn instead to evidence from Lambeth Palace and to the letters of John Shillingford, the Mayor of Exeter. These describe his meetings there with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the late 1440s.⁵⁰⁶

Shillingford first came to London in October 1447 and met the archbishop (who he visited in his political capacity and thus refers to him as such as, "my lorde Chaunceller") not at Lambeth Palace but at Westminster, "atte brode dore a litell from

⁵⁰⁴ Tanner, pp. 87-9

⁵⁰⁵ Tanner, p. xxv

⁵⁰⁶ Moore, S.A. (ed.), *Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter 1447-50*, Camden Society, n.s. 2 (London: 1871)

the steire fote comyng fro the Sterre chamber, y yn the courte and by the dore knellyng and salutynge hym". The archbishop, at the time on his way to his barge, was unable to speak to Shillingford but recommended that he ask the Chief Justice when would next be convenient for a meeting; "and what tyme that ever he will", said the archbishop, "y woll be all redy".⁵⁰⁷ The relative informality of their first meeting suggests that the processes of business could themselves be fairly informal and not respecting of 'business hours', so to speak. Instead a petitioner like Shillingford could be expected to approach the archbishop in public and try to press his case there.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the following day (Sunday 29th October) Shillingford made his way to Lambeth Palace. He and his two companions were admitted into the house and they, "mette and spake w^t hym yn the ynnere chamber, he at that tyme beyng right bysy goynge yn to his closet". Again the archbishop told him he was unable to consider his case then and that he should return the following day. It seems that Shillingford had arrived whilst the archbishop was processing through the house to prayer but although he was not able to properly discuss Shillingford's case at that time it was perfectly appropriate for him to greet him and have a short conversation. The meeting, therefore, brief though it was, similarly suggests an informality of activity and no apparent rigidity to the times and spaces in which the archbishop could be approached by guests to the house. Shillingford undoubtedly respected the requisite etiquette and had been deemed suitable to be allowed into the archbishop's Inner Chamber but precedent seemingly dictated that he was able to address the archbishop whilst he was engaged in an outwardly ritualistic and formal activity.

He returned to Lambeth the same afternoon but, "when y come thider to hym yn his ynnere chamber, there was myche peple, lordes and other, my lord Tresorer, under Tresorer, the pryvy seel, land dyvers abbottes and pryours, and meny strangers aleyne of other londys. And then came yn the Duke of Bokyngham, and ther was grete bysynes at that tyme, hardly all men were bede to avoyde that chamber saaf the lordes".⁵⁰⁸ Shillingford was not, however, physically barred from entering the room and the 'grete bysynes' conducted there was evidently taking place in public. Indeed, despite the great number of people there and the archbishop's preoccupation with the other affairs, Shillingford was still able to approach him and asked him when he might be available

⁵⁰⁷ Moore, p. 6

⁵⁰⁸ Moore, p. 7

for an audience. It shows that far from being a strictly controlled space, movement around the house by guests could be quite free. That is not to say that it was unrestricted, Shillingford must first have got past the Porter at the Gate and the Ushers at the door of the Chamber and his suitability for entry must have been scrutinised at each point.⁵⁰⁹ It is clear, however, that once inside the house and assessed as suitable he was not shepherded and could move fairly freely.

Shillingford visited Lambeth Palace on several more occasions before he was successful in gaining his audience with the archbishop on Candlemas Day 1448. His letter records the occasion thus:

“That day was y at Lambeth with my lorde at masse, and offered my candelle to my lord is blessed hond, y knelyng adoun offeryng my candell. My lord with laghyng chere upon me seide hertely, “Graunt mercy, Mayer,” &c. That same day y abode there to mete by my seide lordis commaundement. y mette with my lorde at high table ende ... and as sone as ever he saw me he toke me fast by the honde ... Y went forth with hym to the myddis of the halle, he stondyng yn his astate ayenst the fire a grete whiles, and ij bisshoppis, the ij Chif Justises, and other lordis, knyghtes, and squyers, and other comyn puple grete multitude, the halle fulle, alle stondyng a far apart fro hym, y knelyng by hym, and after recommendacion y moved hym of oure mater shortly as tyme asked”.⁵¹⁰

The archbishop, Shillingford reports, gave a favourable answer to his petition and he was, in his own words, “well pleased therewith”. Afterwards, the, “meeting being done, [the archbishop] took his chamber, the estates and others with him”.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ LPL MS. 884 (f.10v); “It is ordained that the porters shall dewly and truly keepe my Lordes gate from fowre of the clocke in the morning until ix of the clock in Summer and from v of the clocke in the morning unto viij of the clocke in the evening [in Winter]”, and, “It is ordayned that the usshers of the chamber shall keepe, or doe duly cause to be kept by them selfe, or a yoman the dore of the grete chamber”.

⁵¹⁰ Moore, pp. 36-37

⁵¹¹ Moore, p. 37

Again, through Shillingford's words we are able to glimpse the archbishop at home, and again we see him in movement around his house. His visitor was not only allowed to join him at Mass, an occasion intimate enough for the mayor to exchange words with and pass his candle to the archbishop, but could also conduct his business in his Great Hall, an occurrence suggestive of a certain freedom of spatial function. Given the status of rooms such as the Great Chamber we might expect that it was there that business was conducted with the archbishop sat in state. Shillingford, however, indicates that this was not automatically so and that the use of the house was more fluid than modern readings might suggest. Indeed when Margery Kempe visited Lambeth Palace at the beginning of the fifteenth century she recalled that, after waiting in the Great Hall to be called into the archbishop's presence, she was taken to meet him in his gardens.⁵¹² Such flexibility suggests that the use of space within the house was not dictated to the archbishop by the physical setting or by an inbuilt architectural hierarchy but rather that the house's spaces could respond to the changing requirements of the archbishop. Business could be conducted wherever he chose to be and was not strictly controlled by an acknowledged code of appropriate spatial function.

Whether the sort of face-to-face business at Lambeth that is described in his letters happened regularly at Knole is unknown. We have already seen that the house had the character of a private retreat so it may be that petitioning and related activities were restricted, on the whole, to other, more public houses. Sometimes, however, the archbishop had little choice in the matter. In April 1528 as Archbishop Warham was celebrating Easter at Knole, a crowd of over a hundred converged in the park, keen to voice their anger over the non-repayment of enforced loans to the crown. Warham duly allowed, "v or vj of the discretest of theym", into his house to discuss their grievances.⁵¹³ It must be likely therefore, that on other occasions too petitioners were allowed into Knole, but the frequency of their reception or the degree to which the archbishop chose to conduct that sort of business there is not recorded. Nonetheless, Shillingford's accounts of Lambeth can tell us a great deal about how archiepiscopal houses, including Knole, were used.

⁵¹² Meech, S.B. Allen, H.E., *The Book of Margery Kempe*, EETS, Original Series 212 (London: 1940), p. 36

⁵¹³ TNA SP 1 47

3c) *Feasting and Festivals*

On the 9th March 1504 William Warham was enthroned as Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵¹⁴ It was an occasion for celebrations when the people of the city, the community of the church and the people of power and influence within the spheres of court and politics could welcome the new archbishop with the customary degrees of solemnity, reverence and festivity. When Morton had been enthroned some seventeen years earlier it was recorded that he entered Canterbury on foot and, escorted in procession, he passed through the city to Christ Church with the bells of the city ringing out to announce and celebrate his arrival.⁵¹⁵

The formalities of the enthronement were, of course, ecclesiastical processes and took place within the body and vestry of the church that was at the heart of the archbishops' spiritual power. The events and celebrations that surrounded the archiepiscopal coronation were, however, of a much more secular nature – a triumphal display of the worldly and economic power possessed by the new archbishop and an occasion for him to display himself in all his earthly glory and to reinforce his position within the social hierarchies that supported him. As the solemn ceremony of the enthronement came to a close, therefore, and the Mass was said in the monastic church the archbishop, with the presiding prelates, processed first to the vestry and from there around the cloister and into the Great Hall of the archiepiscopal palace which adjoined the abbey.⁵¹⁶ The feast that followed Warham's enthronement in 1504 was recorded in great detail by a member of the archbishop's household and the description provides a vivid and evocative account of the occasion.⁵¹⁷ Clearly such an event cannot stand as representative of the day-to-day use of the archbishops' houses; it was a great event of a type witnessed only seldom. We might suggest that similar festivities were held when the archbishops' houses hosted royal or important guests (although evidence of these events is missing), but for the majority of the time dining was, of course, on a much less grand scale. This should not, however, devalue the account of the enthronement feast as a source for understanding the use of the house, for its extraordinary scale and the close detail of the account shed a revealing light on the archbishops' understanding of spatial

⁵¹⁴ Scarisbrick, p. 411

⁵¹⁵ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. IV., p. 208

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. VI, pp. 16-34

function within his houses thereby magnifying subtle themes that might otherwise be un-evidenced.

In scale and attendance the feast was vast a rough estimate suggests that somewhere in excess of six hundred people dined in the palace on that day.⁵¹⁸ Although not all of the six hundred can have been seated at the same time they, nonetheless, represented a huge influx of bodies into a building which, on an everyday basis, served only a fraction of that number. To accommodate them all, the archbishop's ushers set tables throughout much of the usable public and private space in the palace. Guests were dined not only in the Great Hall and in the Great Chamber, but also in the Second Chamber and the Little Hall.⁵¹⁹ In 1465 when George Neville was enthroned at York his household staff are recorded as furnishing the 'gallery' as an additional space for dining.⁵²⁰ At Canterbury, however, for Warham's enthronement the ushers went further and laid tables in the household chapel. The chapel, evidently first-and-foremost a religious building, became a dining room and, in this context at least, a wholly profane space. Sutton and Hammond in their discussion of Richard III's coronation feast wrote that, "The banquet was part of that secular display which seemingly threatened to totally submerge the true meaning of anointing and investiture of the monarch in the middle ages".⁵²¹ We may reasonably assume then that, even in the context of an archiepiscopal enthronement, the archbishop's feast held no additional spiritual element or meaning that warranted inclusion of the chapel in the festivities of dining for religious reasons. Furthermore, it would seem that the chapel as a dining space for this feast ranked low in the palace's spatial hierarchy and it appears that the decision to press it into service was influenced by expediency and not by religious motivations.

Once the guests had assembled Warham took his seat in the Great Hall at the centre of the high table. He sat alone beneath a canopy of rich cloth, symbolically the focus of a household and a church. As the people in the hall respectfully looked on Warham was ceremonially served the officers of the feast, observing all the required

⁵¹⁸ The description of the feast records that a total of 1,547 messes were served. Each mess probably fed an average of two to three people which enables a very basic estimate of the number of diners in Warham's palace on the day of his enthronement. Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. VI, pp. 16-34 and A.F. Sutton P.W. Hammond (eds.), *The Coronation of Richard III: the Extant Documents*, (Gloucester: 1983), p. 285

⁵¹⁹ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. VI., pp. 19-20

⁵²⁰ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. VI., p. 4

⁵²¹ Sutton Hammond, p. 283

solemnity and etiquette, presented the archbishop with each of the thirty-one fish and sweet dishes and the intricately symbolic ‘*subtleties*’, tableaux of saints, kings and churchmen set in fantastic castles, abbeys and landscapes constructed from pastry, sugar, wax, paint and paper by the expert hands of the master cooks.⁵²² In charge of the ceremony was Edward Duke of Buckingham, who had been given the ceremonial role of High Steward for the feast. As the first of the dishes were served at the high table Buckingham rode into the Hall upon his horse, “*nudus caput, humili vultu, cum albo baculo insigni officii sui in manu sua*” [bare headed, with a humble expression on his face, and with the white rod symbolising his office in his hand].⁵²³ The appearance of the Duke on horseback invoked the notably similar ritual of the royal coronation banquets as Richard III feasted at Whitehall in 1483, for example, there,

“came rydyng into the hall S^r Robt Dymoke the Kyng’s Champion, and his horse trapyd w^t whyt sylke red, hym selff in wyte harnesse, and the Heraulds of Armes standyng upon a stage among all the co’pany; then come rydinge up before the kyng his Champion, and there he declared before all the people, yf there be any man will say agaynst kyng Rychard the iij why he shoulde not p’tende the crowne, and anon all the people were in peace a whyle”.⁵²⁴

This scene, we can imagine, must have been similar to the mounted entry of Buckingham into Warham’s hall at Canterbury. In this light it seems reasonable to suggest a comparison between the king and the archbishop. The processes of their investitures evidently followed similar lines. Indeed their comparable treatment at the beginning of their official lives allows the possibility that the rituals of their offices were also similar. Such rituals governed their daily lives and covered everything from the natural demands of eating to the spiritual requirements of religious observance. It may be considered legitimate, therefore, to consider much better documented royal ritual as evidence for the activities of the archbishops’ houses.

⁵²² Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. VI., pp. 21-24 Sutton Hammond, p. 283

⁵²³ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. VI., p. 22

⁵²⁴ BL. Harleian MS. 2115 reproduced in S. Bentley (ed.), *Excerpta Historica, or, Illustrations of English History*, (London: 1833), p. 383

As the ceremonial service at Warham's table came to an end the archbishop left the Great Hall and retreated to his chamber. His departure marked an end to the formal ceremonial part of the meal and the beginning of the feast for the assembled members of the household and their guests. In moving between rooms at this stage in the banquet Warham also displayed vividly the distinction between the public spaces of the house and the private and his relocation fitted neatly into the hierarchical structure of the palace.

The archbishop's presence in the hall was an event out of the ordinary for great hall dining was, for the members of the highest elites, a function of ritual rather than routine. The enthronement feast was designed as an opportunity for the archbishop to be seen and acknowledged as the new head of his household in a strictly formal and stage managed way an event where the primary function was a display of archiepiscopal magnificence rather than a chance for the archbishop to break his fast. In reality, by the late-Middle Ages the great householders had taken to eating in the comfort and seclusion of their own chambers accompanied only by their closest friends or most important guests. Indeed, an etiquette book written in the mid-fifteenth century makes it clear that:

“Pope, emperor, king, cardinal, prince with golden royal rod, duke,
archbishop in his pall,

All these for their dignity ought not to dine in the hall”.⁵²⁵

And so it was in his own chambers at Canterbury surrounded by his friends and peers that he enjoyed his first meal at archbishop. He had probably eaten little at all from the thirty-one dishes with which he had been ceremonially served at the high table in the Great Hall for, when he returned to his own privy chamber, he and his dining companions were served with a further twenty-four dishes of fish and sweets.⁵²⁶

For Warham and his household the feast held at Canterbury in March 1504 was a spectacular and extraordinary occasion. The event was almost certainly amongst the

⁵²⁵ Furnival, *The babes' book*, p. 23

⁵²⁶ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. VI., pp. 25-26

greatest extravagances that any of the archbishop's houses would bear witness to during the course of his reign. Warham himself was said to personally eschew such levels of excess. If we are to believe the flattering eulogistic portrait of him written by his great friend Desiderius Erasmus, Warham may be seen as a man of deep personal humility and modest taste, more at home with his books and learned companions than with the showy ceremonial and conspicuous consumption prevalent in the great houses and palaces of his time. In praise of his patron Erasmus wrote:

“Although he sometimes had bishops, dukes and earls as his guests, yet dinner was always finished within the space of one hour. In the midst of a sumptuous table, as his dignity demands, it is incredible to say how he abstained from all delicacies. He rarely tasted wine, but generally, when already a septuagenarian, used to drink very weak ale, which they call there beer, and even that very sparingly. Moreover, when he had taken the smallest quantity of food, yet with the kindness of his looks, and the cheerfulness of his discourse, he enlivened the whole table. ... He abstained entirely from suppers, or if some of his intimate friends, of which number we were, happened to be with him, he sat down, but scarcely touched the viands”.⁵²⁷

Although clearly willing and able to treat his guests to fine foods and wine, as etiquette required that he should, he himself is depicted as practicing a scale of moderation suitable for a man of the cloth.

Yet, despite Warham's apparent personal dislike for the ostentation of feasting his kitchens were seldom idle. The medieval year was defined and punctuated by the liturgical and political calendars. Feasting was a core requirement of both and the archbishop's houses must have frequently been host to banquets, if not on the scale of the enthronement meal, certainly of sufficient size and spectacle to befit the archbishop's status. The hosting of a great feast for a religious or political celebration

⁵²⁷ Gough Nichols, *Pilgrimages*, pp. 159-160

was, after all, a legitimate way to display ones personal strength, munificence and largesse without the accusation of unnecessary expenditure and ostentation.⁵²⁸

Although their households were itinerant it is instructive to note that Knole fitted in to a rough annual routine that saw it adopted by the archbishops as the preferred place to celebrate Christmas. Analysis of the archbishops' itineraries reveals an indisputable rise in the occurrences of documented activity at Knole during the Christmas period (Fig.9b). In the years for which sufficient evidence for the archbishop's movements can be gathered it seems that he usually moved to Knole at the end of November and resided there until early January, perhaps on occasion leaving in time to return to Court for the more important and extravagant celebrations for Twelfth Night, as Morton did in 1488.⁵²⁹ We can only speculate about the reasons for this trend but the most likely explanation returns to the hypothesis of Knole as a place of retreat. Whilst the archbishops' secular duties were put on hold for the prolonged festivities he might be afforded a Christmas 'holiday' (in the modern sense) in the comfort and seclusion of Knole.

A vivid description of Henry VII's Christmas celebrations at Greenwich in 1487 8, written by an eyewitness in his household, has survived which gives an animated picture of the religious celebrations that accompanied the festival and, given that the standard ceremonial formalities of the royal coronation appear directly mirrored in the festivities of the archiepiscopal enthronement feast, it seems legitimate to posit that some comparison can also be made between the king and the archbishop in other areas of their lives, in this case Christmas.

On Christmas Eve, we are told, the king, richly dressed in a gown of purple velvet and trimmed in sable, attended the Mass of the Vigil in the Chapel Royal "nobly accompanied with dyvers great Estats". Later during the same evening he returned to the Chapel in procession led by the Officers of Arms to hear the service of Evensong given by the Reverend John Fox, the Bishop of Exeter. The following day having attended the Christmas Day services, delivered again by Fox, Henry and his closest courtiers dined in "the great Chambre nexte the l. Galary, and the Quene and my Lady the Kings Moder with the Ladies in the Quenes Chamber", whilst the rest of the

⁵²⁸ K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule*, (Oxford: 1988), p. 147

⁵²⁹ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. IV, pp.235-237

household dined in the Great Hall.⁵³⁰ The festivities of Christmas Day appear, from this account, somewhat modest – a reflection perhaps of the reverence of the day or, more likely, an acknowledgement that the more elaborate and formalised rituals of the festival were to come during the following weeks.

On New Year's Day the king, again in his privy chamber, oversaw the traditional distribution of gifts of money to the Officers of Arms. As each person presented their gift the Officers of Arms reciprocated and publicly cheered their generosity – the Duke of Bedford, for example, generously offering 40s was cried, “*Largesse de hault et puisssaunt Prince, frere et uncle des Roys, Duc de Bedeforde, et Counte de Penbroke, Largesse*”. Both the Bishop of Exeter and the king's Secretary also gave money to the Officers but, it is interesting to note, neither was cried, for, as our eyewitness says, “it is not the Custume to crye any Man of the Chirche”. Their spiritual vocation clearly set them apart from the men of secular power with whom they dined and as men of religion their generosity warranted, it would seem, a more dignified and subdued response.⁵³¹

By Twelfth Night Archbishop Morton had arrived at Greenwich and conducted Evensong in the Chapel Royal for King Henry, who was dressed in his Robes of State, and his nobles. The following day witnessed the culmination of the Christmas celebrations and the height of the ritualised extravagance. At Matins all the officers and courtiers of the household, dressed in their own robes or livery uniforms, processed in strict order to the Chapel to hear High Mass. The King and Queen were dressed in robes and crowns and the Cap and Sword of State were borne before them as the train processed through the palace (in the archbishop's house it is likely that the badges of his office were similarly processed). Once the Mass was over the king went first to his chamber and then to the Great Hall where, once again conforming to the ritual of the occasion, he took his seat in the centre of the high table:

“He was corownede with a riche Corowne of Golde sett with ful many
riche precious Stonys, and seated under a merveolous riche Cloth of
Astate, having th Archebishop of Canterbury on his right Hande, and the
Quene also corowned under a Clothe of Estate hanging sumwhat lower

⁵³⁰ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. IV, p. 234

⁵³¹ Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. IV, pp.234-235

than the Kings, on his lift Hande. ... The Erle of Oxinforde, Great Chamberlayn of England, wayted on the Kings Coronne, and the Erle of Urmonde, the Quenes Chamberlayn, knelede betwene the Quene and my Lady the Kings Moder, wayting on the Quenes Coronne. Sir David Owen was Kerver that Day, and Sir Charles Cupeberer, both being in ther Robes. Sir William Vampage, who was Sewer, was in no Roobes, but in a Gowne of Rosset Damask. Sir John Furtzen waytede upon the Cupborde in a Gowne of Cremesyn Velwet, with a riche Coler aboute his Nek. After the secunde Cours, when the Mynstrells hade pleyde, th Officers of Armes descendedede from ther Stage, and Garter gave the King Thankings for his Largesse, and besought the Kings Highnesse to owe Thankings to the Quene for her Largesse. That doon the Largesse both of the King and of the Quene was cryede, and Edward Beauchampe, one of the Kings Marshalls, drwe the Surnape, and made the King and the Quene both hole Astats, to my Lady the Kings Mider half Astate, and the same to th Archebishop of Canterbury.

At the Table in the Medell of the Hall sat the Deane and thoos of the Kings Chapell, whiche incontynently after the Kings furst Course sange a Carall”.⁵³²

Christmas at Knole probably took a similar form. It has already been said that, on ceremonial occasions, when the archbishop was the focus of attention or the head of the social or household hierarchy he took on a role directly comparable to that of the king and we can reasonably assume, therefore, that the archbishop’s palace witnessed a similar pattern of performance and feasting during the Christmas periods when the archbishop resided there. During the Christmas period of 1474-5 it is recorded that Archbishop Bourchier was joined at Knole by his cousin, George Neville, returning from his exile in France.⁵³³ The two undoubtedly dined together in Bourchier’s Privy Chamber and participated in the rituals of Largesse and the festivities of Twelfth Night that were a traditional part of the festival.

⁵³² Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii*, Vol. IV, pp.236-237

⁵³³ M. Hicks, ‘Neville, George (1432-1476)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (London: 2004), p. 495

Largesse was a central function of the Christmas festivities. The gates of the house were, to some extent at least, flung open and the palace offered its hospitality to visitors. The Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, for the Christmas feasts of 1507 reveal the extent of the influx of guests into the hall and chamber of Thornbury Castle. On the 10th December only twenty-four strangers are recorded as being present at dinner but on Christmas Day, however, Stafford provided dinner for 182 strangers and supper for 176. By the feast of Epiphany on the 6th January the numbers had risen even further to 319 at dinner and 279 at supper.⁵³⁴ This festive policy of open house, which was certainly said to have been kept by Archbishop Whitgift in the 1580s, and most probably by his pre-Reformation predecessors, allowed the archbishops to demonstrate their Christian charity and enact the message of the Christmas story by providing food and shelter to visitors arriving at their door.⁵³⁵

The Christmas period, however, was not necessarily given over to wholly religious activity. In Cranmer's rule book it was stated:

“Itm yt is ordained and straightly commanded and forbidden that none of the Lords said howshold take upon hym to playe any manner of game at dice, carde, or other hasardry in any chamb er or place, except openly in the hall, or the greate chamb er . And there also onely in the xij daies in Christmas, and the holy daies from Alhollon daie unto Candlemas, and then not after ix of the clocke in the night”.

The implication of the rule is twofold. First that the Christmas period was indeed a time considered as a holiday (again in a modern sense) and that a certain amount of frivolous activity was permitted that was not otherwise deemed suitable. And second that the spatial structure of the house could operate as a form of control. The stipulation that gaming could only happen in the hall or great chamber suggests that there was a need for the activity to be supervised and that the public spaces of the house were places in which such otherwise illicit behaviour could be managed and prevented from causing

⁵³⁴ J. Gage, 'Extracts from the Household Book of Edward Trafford, duke of Buckingham', *Archaeologia*, XXV (1834), pp. 318-341

⁵³⁵ Heal, 'The Archbishops', p. 560

ruptures in the supposedly well ordered household (of course there is no indication that this rule was ever strictly adhered to and any suggestion that gaming did not happen in private or at other times of the year must be considered unlikely).

3d) The Chapel, Religion and Processional Ritual

It has been highlighted in the previous chapters that, on occasions, the household chapel could serve various functions. For Warham during the heresy trials of 1511-12 it was a courtroom, whilst at his enthronement it had been a dining room. When Shillingford visited Lambeth he had witnessed the chapel as a place in which the archbishop heard his bishops preaching. He had also, however, joined the archbishop there for Mass and despite the evidence for other uses it was, more often than not, this function that the chapel served.

Given that the head of the household was a man of the cloth it would be easy to imagine that the archbishop's houses were places of particularly keen religious observance. However, the archiepiscopal household was not a religious establishment in a monastic sense and the chapel served needs the needs of a community whose roles were secular. Indeed, in an institutional study of the late medieval household it has been noted that, "neither abbatial nor episcopal households are noticeably more scrupulous than lay establishments in attending to general ecclesiastical rules".⁵³⁶ Archbishop Cranmer's household ordinances stated, as the first in a long list of statutes, that:

"First it is ordeined that every howshold man of what degree or condicon he be of shall here daily the divine service in daies accordingly, And that there shalbe one of my lordes Chapleynes readie to saie Mattens, Communion and evensong to the howshold, And that every gentelman, yoman and grome not having reasonable excused shalbe at the said service".⁵³⁷

⁵³⁶ Mertes, p. 151

⁵³⁷ LPL MS. 884 (f.8)

Since it was emphasised by being placed at the top of the list of household rules we might acknowledge the importance in which attendance in chapel was held. Yet it is nonetheless noteworthy that this passage is the only reference to religious provision amongst an extensive discussion of household activity. Although it would be unwise to attribute too much significance to this point it does appear to reveal that, whilst undoubtedly important and central to the household's routine, religious observance was not the preoccupation of an archiepiscopal house any more than at other great houses. Certainly it was no more so than in the households of his lay peers since the aristocracy and the monarchy in the later Middle Ages seem, on the whole, to have taken their own religious observances seriously.⁵³⁸

Responsibility for religious provision within the archbishop's household lay, not directly with the archbishop himself, but with the Dean of the Chapel. Although the archbishop probably kept a watchful eye to ensure that his household was a suitable model of piety, it was, according to the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV, itself written under the supervision of Archbishop Bourchier, the Dean's role to, "makethe the sadde rules of the persones, clerkes, and all theyre ceremonies in this chappell".⁵³⁹ Edward IV's Dean had under his authority twenty-six chaplains and clerks, two yeoman and eight child choristers. Henry VI's household ordinances similarly detail a chapel staff of twenty chaplains and clerks, one Chaplain Confessor to the household, one yeoman and seven boys. Quite how the archbishop's chapel compared is difficult to say but it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that his chapel staff were somewhat fewer in number than the staff of the Chapel Royal where the king usually favoured the ostentation of scale. What does seem certain, however, is that, given the archbishop's positions in both the high ranks of society and the wealth that he gained as such, each of the offices of the Chapel Royal was also present in the archiepiscopal chapel, for each played an important role in the domestic performance of the liturgy. The chaplains, with the help of the clerks, conducted the divine services of the day, performed special masses and the rituals of holydays and performed readings from the Bible. They were the constant spiritual guardians and guides for the archbishop's household.

In common with the great houses of the day the archbishop also employed choristers in his chapel and probably also kept a clerk who could play the organ. It is

⁵³⁸ Mertes, p. 149

⁵³⁹ Anon., *A Collection of Ordinances*, p. 49

difficult to be certain of numbers but we might estimate that the archbishop employed between five and ten children in his choir, all of whom received education in his house and dinner in his hall. In 1471 the receiver recorded the death of three of the boys of Archbishop Bouchier's chapel at Knole.⁵⁴⁰ The archbishop had paid for their care during their illnesses and, eventually, for their funerals at a cost of 14s. The same account also records that 8s. 2d. was spent on shoes, socks and capes for the surviving choristers. In addition clerks and chaplains added adult male voices to the music of the chapel. Henry Percy had at least six counter tenors, three tenors and four basses in the chapels of his Yorkshire houses in the early-sixteenth century.⁵⁴¹ This number was perhaps unusually large and we cannot be certain of the numbers employed by the archbishops. However, we do know of one bass singer in Warham's household since his singing won him some renown amongst the archbishop's peers. In early December 1526 Warham received word from Cardinal Wolsey's chaplain, Dr. Benet, that the cardinal desired to obtain the services of a bass singer by the name of Clement who was in the service of the archbishop at Knole. Warham sent his reply from Knole on 6th December. Presumably putting his letter into the hands of Clement to be delivered to the cardinal in person, the archbishop sent the chorister to sing in Wolsey's household saying that there was not in his house "a better ordered person".⁵⁴²

Below the Chapel at Knole is an undercroft (L.50 L.51) which evidently had a function related to the religious activities of the space above. Today it is an enigmatic room with no direct access between itself and the Chapel. It has two entrances one, in its north wall, connects with the south end of the Chapel Corridor in a space now called the Boot Room (G.137) and the other, in the north-west corner of the undercroft descends a short flight of steps leading from the corner of the Pheasant Court Building at the south end of room (G.140). However, these steps show signs of alteration, possibly during the Warham building phase that saw the area remodelled. Originally a newel stair descended through this space that gave direct access between the body of the Chapel and the undercroft. With this evidence of a connection between the two spaces we might cautiously identify the undercroft as a vestry. This was the space in which the staff of the household chapel prepared for services, worked and stored the chapel

⁵⁴⁰ TNA SC 6 1130 3

⁵⁴¹ Anon., *The Earl of Northumberland's Household Book*, pp. 367-376

⁵⁴² TNA SP 1 40

furnishings. The undercroft's liturgical function is emphasised by the recess in its south wall that is framed by a moulded four-centred arch (Fig. 70). This feature clearly dates from the primary building phase of the Chapel since the mason who built it carved its jambs out of the same blocks of stone as the groins that form the ceiling vault. Given that the recess has suffered serious damage its function and identity can only be guessed at. It is clear that it formerly had a short 'chimney' above it that has led some to suggest that it was used as a fireplace. This, however, seems unlikely as the recess is positioned halfway up the wall. Others have called it a lavabo. If we are to consider the space as a vestry then this identification is not implausible. A lavabo would allow the priests of the chapel the chance to wash before the service. However, there is no evidence of plumbing or of a bowl for water. Oxford Archaeology suggested that it was simply a window providing borrowed light since the 'chimney' allows light in.⁵⁴³ They also noted that the opening at the top of the 'chimney' has iron pintles suggesting that it formerly had shutters. We might go one step further and propose that the focus formed by the recess's moulded surround suggests that it was intended as a space in which to display something. The damage to the recess means that its original form is unclear but there is a suggestion from the surviving masonry that it had a sloping back which might identify it as a lectern on which to display a book but it could also have held a reliquary of some type. The light from above would, therefore, act as a spotlight on an object of some value or importance.

It remains, however, to consider how the archbishop himself participated in the routines of the household chapel. The archbishop straddled worlds of public devotional ritual and private personal religion. It is clear that, for a man at the very pinnacle of religious and political power, the medieval world held considerable requirements to participate in the set rituals that reinforced and demonstrated that basis of authority. The household chapel sat at the centre of this requirement, a place to which the archbishop processed to attend, and perhaps on occasion, participate in, services. However, such events were not a daily occurrence and, just as he dined in separation from his household so too was much of his worship conducted in separation. His motives when he did attend chapel were primarily to take part in the specific rituals of church and to be seen doing so not, we may suggest, to fulfil the personal requirements of his own piety, for other spaces and occasions were used for that. A sense of this may once again

⁵⁴³ Oxford Archaeology, *Knole: Archaeological Survey*, pp. 38-39

be gathered from a royal context. It has been suggested that Henry VIII, a man of not inconsiderable personal piety, famously preferred to be playing tennis than attending vespers in the Chapel Royal.⁵⁴⁴ But this is to simplify the point about the continuum of secular and religious business. The chapel was not only about the processes of religion but about the benefits of the display of magnificence to the court that aligned itself along the corridors of his palace to witness him process there. The action of getting to chapel was in itself, it seems, equally important as actually attending the service since rituals of petitioning and obeisance took place *en route*. Once settled in his holyday closet, Henry's attention was often directed towards the conduct of state business alongside the ceremonies taking place in the chapel below him.

It is important, therefore, to emphasise that the household chapel did not hold the same function for the archbishop as it did for the rest of his household. For the staff of the archbishop's house the household chapel represented the sole access to the instruments of their required religious duties within the context of the building itself. For the archbishop, however, the chapel was principally the focus of his very public and ritualised piety this was piety as much for display as for personal salvation. It has already been discussed how it was to the chapel that the archbishop would process on feast days and in the chapel where he might enact religious rituals such as the crawling to the cross, an act in which Henry VIII was recorded as participating in 1539.⁵⁴⁵ However, the day-to-day focus of the archbishop's piety took place in a highly ritualised and ordered way not in the chapel but rather in a closet set aside for the archbishop's own observances. When Shillingford visited Lambeth Palace he described the archbishop "goynge yn to his closet" and at Knole one of the rooms in which Warham conducted his heresy trials was his own oratory.⁵⁴⁶ The location of the oratory at Knole is not known. Bridgman suggested that the Bouchier Room (F.155) served that function but his justification for that identification rests on the large oriel window and the religious symbolism of the carved corbels, neither of which can be considered sufficient proof of his theory.⁵⁴⁷ Instead, although this is speculative, we might suggest that the oratory was in the first floor rooms in the area surrounding Men's Court. The

⁵⁴⁴ Thurley, *The Royal Palaces*, p. 198

⁵⁴⁵ Thurley, *The Royal Palaces*, p. 199

⁵⁴⁶ Moore, p. 6

⁵⁴⁷ Bridgman, p. 145

most plausible option seems to be the Organ Room (F.127 – this space has been partitioned but originally also included the rooms F.124 F.125 F.126) (Fig.58) which formerly had an open viewing window into the Chapel allowing it to also act as a private pew and permitting a degree of participation with the ritual of the Chapel.⁵⁴⁸

Descriptions of the archbishop in his closet do not survive but we can perhaps get a sense of the occasion from the description contained in the household ordinances of an anonymous fifteenth-century earl. They make it clear that the closet or oratory was a place where the head of the household could be the focus of religious activity rather than an anonymous observer. It records that after rising from bed and dressing in the morning:

“The said estate being redy the gent ussher before hym cometh from his bedchamber towarde the closet the residew of the gent usshers, the gent waiters, yeomen usshers, and yeom’ of the chamber, w^towt the utter chamber geving their attendaunce making their curtesies bareheaded, the gent going before hym to the closet and the yeoman following, the clerke of the closet and the almyonger being present there the almyonger giveth holywater to thestate if the Deane of the Chappell be absent, and in absence of them bothe, the clerke of the closet, on of the gent usshers taking the cussin at the hande of on of the yeoman usshers, kneling kisseth and laieth the said redy for the estate to knele upon w^tin a traverse of silke And so doing his dewtie draweth backe putting ye traverse to on of the chaplens being in redyness goeth to masse And if any other be present he helpeth him, if not, the gent ussher appoynteth on gent to help hym, who at the Agnus making iij curtesies kneling geveth the pax to the state to kisse, first to his mouthe, after to his eyes, and last to his mouthe agayne.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ The position of the opening can be seen on the plan of Knole as represented by the narrowing of the adjoining wall in F.126. Photographs from the end of the nineteenth century show the room as it was before partitioning and reveal more clearly the position of the former viewing window (Fig. 58)

⁵⁴⁹ BL. Harleian MS. 6815

The ordinance makes it clear that a central part of the household's religious ritual was the procession to the chapel or closet. Although in this instance the reference is to an aristocratic household, we cannot doubt that the ritual was similar in the archbishop's house. The inference in Shillingford's remark, after all, that the archbishop was "right bysy goynge yn to his closet" must be that he too was in procession.⁵⁵⁰

Simon Thurley has argued that procession was particularly important for members of the higher episcopacy and archiepiscopacy and he finds his evidence in the architectural developments of their buildings. He highlights a group of houses built in whole or in part between about 1450 and 1530 by bishops and archbishops, including York Place, Hampton Court Palace, Lambeth Palace and Ely Place that share a cloister as part of their common plan. This distinct architectural form, says Thurley, was a response to the requirement to process laid out in the Use of Sarum and was "specific and unique to a man in whose person were combined the highest offices of Church and State" (i.e. a bishop or an archbishop).⁵⁵¹ If this is true then Knole should fit the pattern for it certainly fits into the date boundary and was built by England's highest ranking prelate. Yet there is no cloister at Knole, certainly not in the terms by which Thurley seems to define it there is no courtyard surrounded on all sides by arcaded walkways that connected the Hall to the Chapel. It is possible, of course, that Bouchier's Stone Court was surrounded by walkways but it does not connect to the Chapel. The Chapel corridor that does link the two spaces (G.126 G.129 G.137) was certainly arcaded but did not surround a courtyard. More importantly it was not part of Bouchier's plan but was added by Warham. We might speculate that Warham's pentice corridor replaced an earlier corridor but without evidence we must conclude that Bouchier's house did not have a cloister in a formal sense. Bouchier was promoted to the office of cardinal whilst still building Knole and yet the building does not show any sign that he felt it necessary to build himself a processional cloister. At the archbishops' other houses that were built during the date brackets defined by Thurley, Otford and Ford in particular, there is also no evidence of cloisters. The weight Thurley puts on this architectural form seems consequently unjustified.

⁵⁵⁰ Moore, p. 6

⁵⁵¹ S. Thurley, *The Cloister and the Hearth: Wolsey, Henry VIII and the Early Tudor Palace Plan*, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 162 (2009), pp. 180-181

Instead we might reflect on the appearance of undercover walkways connecting the Chapel to the rest of the house against the instruction presented in a sixteenth century chapel ordinance for the house of an earl which requires that, “befoir highe masse be my lord to go upon procession about the court if it be fayr Wedder ... or ellis thorow the Hall”.⁵⁵² In this light it seems unlikely that the development of covered ‘cloister-esque’ walkways was a direct response to the Use of Sarum and more likely that, in most cases, it was a reaction to the unpredictability of the English weather. Furthermore, the ordinance also reemphasises to us that the requirements of procession were not peculiar to the episcopate. Thurley, however, contends that the aristocracy “had no need to give architectural expression to the intimate links between secular and ecclesiastical ceremony”.⁵⁵³ In other words he suggests that they did not process which is an argument that clearly cannot stand up to scrutiny. What is more, cloister-like structures did make an appearance in the houses of the secular nobility. Herstmonceux, for example, had a courtyard arcaded on all sides that linked the great hall to the chapel. Whether it can safely be said to be a processional route or simply a practical response to the weather is uncertain – indeed such a distinction might be considered artificial – the real point is to reiterate that in this regard little difference can safely be established between the houses of the upper clergy and those of the higher nobility.

3e) Summary: Archiepiscopal versus Secular Houses and the Flexibility of Space

There are two core themes that have become apparent throughout the previous discussions. The first is about the flexibility of spatial function and the ways in which the building reflected or adapted to its uses. The second refers to the relationship between the design and use of archiepiscopal houses compared to that of secular great houses or palaces and relates to a question we posed at the beginning of these chapters were so called ‘archiepiscopal palaces’ different from the houses of the secular nobility or the palaces of the monarch? Since they are both themes central to understanding how the archbishops perceived the way in which his houses might serve his various needs it is right that, in conclusion, we consider them briefly but more specifically here.

⁵⁵² Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Hist. B. 208 (f.53)

⁵⁵³ Thurley, ‘The Cloister and the Hearth’, p. 186

The flexibility of the spatial function of the house has become clear. Although it is tempting to try and fix historic spaces with names and set uses the evidence seems to suggest that we should not be so prescriptive. Of course, spaces usually had a primary function the chapel was first and foremost, after all, a religious building designed to serve the functions of medieval Christianity. Yet, in admittedly exceptional circumstances, it could also be laid with tables for dinner as it was on the day of Archbishop Warham's enthronement. The Great Hall was not just a dining room, it could also be a communal space for waiting, socialising and playing games, or a place in which to conduct business. The Great Chamber too could fulfil all these uses. When Warham used Knole as a location for the series of heresy trials during 1511 and 1512 he was equally able to conduct the same proceedings in the Great Hall, the Chapel and his own oratory. In this instance there seemed to be little functional difference between the three spaces. The key to understanding spatial function, therefore, must be to first understand the archbishop's movements and activities within the house. In simple terms the functions of the house might be conducted wherever the archbishop, around whom they revolved, considered appropriate. If he met a petitioner like John Shillingford in the hall or on the way to chapel he could choose to conduct business with him there. Equally he could invite them into his garden, as he did with Margery Kempe, or meet them in the more usual space of the Great Chamber. In short the function of the house was flexible around the present requirements of the archbishop. In an archiepiscopal house and, we may reasonably suppose, in a secular great house too, space did not necessarily always have to conform to its first meaning or designated function. It speaks, therefore, of buildings that could be adapted to meet present needs in a pragmatic way rather than structures defined and immovably set fast in their principal given roles. Episcopal houses, and the great houses which they mirrored, were, it seems, composed of relatively flexible space.

In some senses this might seem like an obvious conclusion, but it is not the sense we get from most of the standard texts on the historic house. Works including Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* or Thurley's *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, immensely valuable though they are, present the late medieval house in an inflexible way by attempting to ascribe well defined and often strictly hierarchical function to named spaces. For that reason we must reemphasise here the pragmatic, fluid and flexible functions of space within these houses.

We must also be clear that none of the functions we have discussed were unique to archiepiscopal houses. All were required to be fulfilled by the houses of the aristocracy and the monarchy as well. Even where we might expect to see significant difference, notably in the function of the household chapel, we do not. Again this is perhaps to have been expected. By the end of the Middle Ages the archbishops of Canterbury were more often than not raised from the ranks of the legal professions or, in Bouchier's case, the nobility. Therefore, the office of archbishop did not necessarily require a significant change in lifestyle other than that afforded by the valuable income of the post. These were not career churchmen given to a life of particular piety, but members of the political elite often more closely aligned to their secular peers than to the monastic institutions over which the church ruled. Similarly, therefore, the plans of their houses may also be seen as more closely aligned to those of the nobility than to any particular model based on the specific requirements of their office. Differences in design must be attributed, first and foremost, to the wealth and taste of the patron and not to any significant difference in function.

The Interiors

Part One of this thesis established the likely spaces, both great and small, of Knole as the house took shape from the mid-fifteenth century to the moment of royal ownership. Constant reordering throughout the subsequent centuries has removed most of the evidence of decorative schemes from this time but thankfully some small fragments do survive and whilst these do not permit full reconstructions of the house's interiors they do suggest something of Knole's likely appearance during its archiepiscopal occupation. A survey of the surviving evidence follows, with some discussion of its context.

1a) Wall Paintings

By far the most complete example of a medieval interior at Knole is found in the Stone Court cellar (L.25–L.26). The south interior wall of this space is decorated with a series of wall paintings depicting at their west end the coats-of-arms of Archbishop Bouchier and his family (Figs.92-95) and at the east end a figurative scene including a suppliant and Christ as Man of Sorrows (Figs.90-91).

Some idea of the date of the paintings can be suggested on the basis of the heraldry. They must be a product of Thomas Bouchier's tenure of the house, since it is unlikely that his successors would commission such a display of familial symbols, so they pre-date Bouchier's death in 1486. The range itself was built during the 1460s so it is unlikely to have been painted much before the middle of that decade and the inclusion of a Cardinal's hat as a crest above his own shield indicates that it cannot have been drawn before September 1467 when Bouchier was finally raised to this rank (although Bouchier's actual hat did not arrive from Rome until 1473).⁵⁵⁴ For the heraldic display we can suggest a date between late 1467 and 1486. It is less clear whether the figurative scene to the east was painted at the same time since it contains no specific dating evidence and the fragmentation of the plaster layers between the two schemes makes it impossible to establish whether the two were linked. Both do, however, pre-date the frieze that runs along the top of the south and east walls (Fig.92).

⁵⁵⁴ Clark, p. 825

This is late-Gothic in style and, although the details are indistinct because of damage, appears to be a type of leaf-work pattern. It must, therefore, date to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century and was probably painted during the tenures of either Morton or Warham. In raking light it can be demonstrated to be on a plaster layer that is above the layers depicting the heraldry and the figurative scene.⁵⁵⁵ The frieze is, therefore, newer and indicates that the otherwise un-datable figurative section was also most likely to have been painted in the fifteenth century.

The scene has been heavily damaged and only a few details can now be made out. On the left is a kneeling figure with his hands raised apparently in prayer. Sackville family tradition recalls the figure as being Thomas Becket but although an eminently plausible assumption the surviving details of the image are insufficient to be certain. To its right is the head of Christ with a crossed nimbus framed by the spandrels of a doorway or niche of a type typical of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The rest of Christ's body has disappeared through damage to the plaster layers but it is clear that he was shown in the guise of the Man of Sorrows since the head and neck is flecked with blood.

More of the heraldic scheme survives intact, although damage has nonetheless been extensive. The scheme shows four extant shields each surrounded by a platted or twisted mantle. Working from right to left we see, (1) the Plantagenet arms of the English royal family possibly with a crown as its crest (Fig.92); (2) Thomas Bouchier's arms impaling the pallium of the see of Canterbury with the Cardinal's hat as its crest (Fig.93) (3) the Bouchier arms impaling the Plantagenet royal arms representing the archbishop's parents, William Bouchier, Count of Eu, and Anne of Woodstock who was the granddaughter Edward III and therefore eligible to bear the Plantagenet arms (Fig.94) and (4) the Bouchier arms impaling those of Cambridge, probably representing Thomas Bouchier's elder brother Henry, Earl of Essex, and his wife Isabel Langley who was the daughter of the Earl of Cambridge (Fig.95). Given the focus on Bouchier's family arms we might expect that Thomas's brothers William and John, Lord FitzWarine and Lord Berners respectively, and his sister Eleanor were also once represented. The damage to the scheme is too extensive to tell but a fragment of a mantle similar to those surrounding the extant shields appears to survive in the space

⁵⁵⁵ T. Curteis, *Knole, Kent: Preliminary Survey of the Wall Paintings in the Stone Court Cellar*, (Unpublished report: March 2010), p. 5

between the heraldic painting and the figurative scene which suggests that further shields filled the gap.⁵⁵⁶

The function of the heraldic scheme was to display the dynastic power of the Bouchier family. They reflect a recognition that, despite his ecclesiastical and political offices, it was to his family that he owed his power for the Bouchiers stood together as a strong and established political familial unit. Indeed, that in 1470 both Thomas and Henry were committed to the Tower as supporters of the Yorkist faction is illustrative of their close political bond.⁵⁵⁷ Less clear is the function of the space that the paintings are in although, as we have remarked in a previous chapter (see p. 164), it is possible that the cellar acted as an entertaining space into which guests could be taken by men of the household. Nonetheless, it is worth remarking that the cellar wall paintings at Knole are composed of a basic colour-scheme utilising only earth pigments. The much more costly blue of the royal arms is missing, for instance, suggesting that only a relatively small amount was invested in their production and leading us to question the status of the space.

Wall paintings were a ubiquitous form of decoration throughout the Middle Ages although their inherently fragile nature and the changing demands of fashion mean that their survival is rare, especially in a domestic context. Although, therefore, little evidence survives, it seems possible that such heraldic wall paintings were fairly common. At Bradley Manor in Devon, for example, the Great Hall is prominently decorated with the Tudor royal arms (Fig.96) and in the parish church alongside Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire one wall is painted with the arms of the church's benefactors. In private houses, however, wall paintings showing personal arms were probably often destroyed or painted over as the property passed to new owners. Knole's cellar wall paintings were plastered over and their survival is arguably the fortuitous result of the diminished public role of the space over time.

It is evident that elsewhere at Knole wall paintings were used fairly extensively. In the window soffit of the first floor garderobe (F.72) that serves the lodging ranges to the north of Stone Court there is the remains of a stencilled wall painting pattern made up of red ochre coloured oak leaves (Fig.97). Although only a fragment survives it is

⁵⁵⁶ T. Curteis, p. 6 I am also grateful to Richard Leathes who was kind enough to share with me his own unpublished research on the heraldry at Knole.

⁵⁵⁷ Clark, p. 825

indicative of a decorative scheme that probably covered the whole space and may also have spread into the principal room of the apartment as well. Repeating stencilled patterns showing generic symbols such as stars or roses are a common feature of fifteenth century wall painting.⁵⁵⁸ At Bradley Manor there is also an example of this type of scheme, there comprising of repeated fleur-de-liys (Fig.98). However, the use of the oak leaf at Knole is significant because it was a personal badge adopted by Archbishop Bouchier and was, therefore, symbolic of his identity. It seems to be representative of his maternal lineage since the use of an oak leaf may have been derived from the badge used by his grandfather, Thomas of Woodstock, which pictured a stock of oak with leaves.⁵⁵⁹ Although the stencils are highly stylised they clearly match the oak leaves displayed in the surviving fragments of stained glass that may be seen in the oriel window of the Bouchier Room (F.155) as well as reset in the casement window of room F.130 (Figs.99 – 101). There are also oak leaves carved on the reused sections of timber in the Chapel screen (Fig.102).

It is interesting to note that both the wall painting fragments that survive at Knole contain clear symbols of Archbishop Bouchier's personal identity and both are found in areas of the house that were used by guests. They served the purpose, therefore, of reminding the archbishop's visitors whose house they were in and who was providing the hospitality of which they were partaking. In that sense they played an intercessory role by highlighting Bouchier's generosity and encouraging thanks and prayers on his behalf.

1b) Stained Glass

The display of Bouchier's personal symbols continued throughout the house and given that all of the few surviving fragments of Bouchier's interiors display some element of his heraldry we might reasonably assume that it was constant theme. The wall paintings in the cellar display the heraldic message vividly but, as we have already alluded to, the surviving fifteenth-century stained glass in the oriel window of Bouchier's Room (F.155) also reinforces the connection between the building and the personal identity of the archbishop (Fig.99).

⁵⁵⁸ C.E. Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, (Princes Risborough: 1991), p. 38

⁵⁵⁹ M.P. Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, Vol. II. Pt. 2, (Woodbridge: 2009), p. 41

Only a fragment of the glazing scheme survives and a reconstruction of the whole, therefore, is not possible. As well as the glass in the oriel window there are also further quarries of contemporary stained glass reset in a seventeenth-century casement on the first floor of the Duke's Tower (F.130) (Fig.101). Although we cannot be certain that these originate from the Bouchier Room oriel their heraldic design makes them sufficiently similar to suggest that they were once part of the same overall design. The artist responsible for the glazing scheme may have been the London glazier John Fort (see pp. 47-49).

The topmost dagger in the oriel window's tracery and the cusps to either side of it contain small *in situ* pieces of stained glass. The central piece shows a falcon or eagle standing on a mound of flowers with its wings outstretched. Although the image of a bird could be associated with a number of common Christian symbols – the eagle that represents St. John the Evangelist for instance – in this case the evidence points towards an heraldic message. A similar bird appears amongst a collection of fifteenth-century drawings of heraldic badges (c.1466-70) compiled by Richard Fenn in the eighteenth century (Fig.100).⁵⁶⁰ It is labelled in a medieval hand as “my lord Canterbery” and must be considered as representative of Thomas Bouchier. It also appears amongst other heraldic images on the stone font given to the church of St. Mary the Virgin in Mortlake by Archbishop Bouchier (Fig.103) and in the east windows of Dean's Chapel and St. Michael's or Somerset Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral both of which are associated with the archbishop.⁵⁶¹ Like the other badges employed by Archbishop Bouchier the eagle or falcon badge seems to have had a family connection since it may also be seen on the tomb of Sir Lewis de Robessart and his wife Elizabeth Bouchier in Westminster Abbey amongst other sources linked to the family.⁵⁶² In medieval bestiaries the eagle was said to be the only bird able to look directly at the sun and the attendant personal and Christian imagery this idea conveyed may have made the symbolism of the badge attractive to the archbishop.

In keeping with his more immediate family Archbishop Bouchier also used his Bouchier knot badge widely. Indeed, it too appears on the font he gave to Mortlake (Fig.103) and in windows at Canterbury Cathedral. The Bouchier knot was used

⁵⁶⁰ BL. Add. Ms. 40742 (f.6)

⁵⁶¹ Siddons, Vol. II. Pt. 2, p. 39

⁵⁶² Siddons, Vol. II. Pt. 2, p. 39

frequently by his ancestors and relatives and appears, for example, on the tomb of Sir Humphrey Bouchier (d.1470) in St. Edmund's Chapel at Westminster Abbey. In the oriel window at Knole the knot badge may be seen in the cusps flanking either side of the central dagger in which the eagle or falcon is shown. They are clearly contemporary and part of the same glazing scheme since the knots are backed by the same stylised pattern as the bird. The knot also reappears on a ceiling corbel in Bouchier's Room (Fig.47b) and it is clear, therefore, that the window was one part of an interior design that was intended to emphasise and reinforce the presence and the importance of the archbishop in that space.

1c) Fireplaces

The *in situ* fifteenth- and sixteenth-century fireplaces at Knole are all plain and typical of their date. However, in store at Knole is a fireplace that was removed from the house in the twentieth century which is decorated with Archbishop Bouchier's heraldic symbols (Fig.11). Carved in the left-hand spandrel of the fireplace is Bouchier's knot and in the right-hand spandrel is the Y shaped pallium representing the see of Canterbury. Linking the two sides in gothic script is the motto '*Benedictus deus*'. The intention, once again, must have been to make an overt connection between the building and the personal image of the archbishop. Here though, although the badges are personal the pallium makes a more overt link with the archbishop's ecclesiastical office than we see in the surviving fragments of window glass.

There is a question mark over whereabouts in the house this fireplace came from. However, although no images of the fireplace in its original location survive, Vita Sackville-West described:

“the tower beside the chapel, where there is a stone fireplace bearing Bouchier's cognisance — the double knot — and the same device in a small pane of stained glass in the window”.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶³ Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, p. 7

This suggests, therefore, that the fireplace was in the first floor room of the Duke's Tower (F.137).

It is interesting that there is only one such fireplace at Knole since the practice of displaying personal arms or other symbols in the spandrels of fireplaces was quite commonplace. At Hampton Court Palace, for example, there is a surviving fireplace in rooms formerly occupied by Katherine of Aragon that contains Cardinal Wolsey's badges and mottoes.⁵⁶⁴ Similarly in Sevenoaks at 63-65 High Street there is a fireplace bearing, unusually, the arms of two archbishops, Chichele (c.1362-1443) and Warham (Fig.106). More notable, however, are the fireplaces at Maidstone Palace, itself a house of the archbishops of Canterbury. Several of the rooms of that house have fireplaces decorated with the arms of Archbishop Warham impaling the pallium of Canterbury (Fig.104-105).⁵⁶⁵ We might wonder, therefore, why there are not surviving fireplaces of this type at Knole added during works by Bouchier's successors, especially given the extent to which Warham in particular was active at the house.⁵⁶⁶

1d) Tapestries and Painted Cloths

Aside from the fragmentary frieze above the painted wall of the Stone Court cellar (L.25), which may be cautiously dated to either Morton or Warham (see p. 202), we know little of the interiors at Knole during the tenures of Bouchier's successors. The lack of distinctive fireplaces like those found elsewhere perhaps suggests that much of the decorative display of the house at that time was done with moveable furnishings and not with architectural embellishment. We may draw attention, therefore, to Archbishop Warham's will since it gives a brief insight into the appearance of two of his own chambers at Knole. In his will Warham recorded

⁵⁶⁴ Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p. 29

⁵⁶⁵ It is interesting to see that the stonemason responsible for the production of the Maidstone fireplaces carved the archbishop's arms in both spandrels. However, in each case the arms in the right-hand spandrel are correct whilst those in the left-hand spandrel are presented as a mirror image and are therefore back-to-front. This anomaly has been attributed to a desire for symmetry, but it seems more likely that it is a simple reflection of the way templates were used. We might suggest that one template was drawn for the right-hand side of the fireplace and reversed when it was used to trace the design onto the stone used for the left-hand side.

⁵⁶⁶ Of course it is possible that some of the fireplaces removed by Sackville in the seventeenth century were embellished with archiepiscopal arms, but given that none of those that survived his alterations have heraldic symbols on we may question the extent to which this might have been the case.

*“Item, lego nepoti meo Willielmo Warham filio fratris mei Hugonis Warham omnes pannos meos pendentes in camera mea in qua dormio apud Knoll in quibus pinguntur imagines Jesu Christi, divi Johannis Baptistæ et aliquorum aliorum apostolorum, quos emi a domino Arthuro Darcy milite, necnon omnes pannos meos pendentes in alia camera mea proxime adjacente dictæ cameræ meæ in qua dormio apud Knoll in quibus pinguntur ymagines venatorum, ursorum, aprorum, et cervorum, quos emi a Johanne Barret”.*⁵⁶⁷

Item, I leave to my nephew William Warham, the son of my brother Hugh Warham, all of my wall cloths hanging in the chamber in which I sleep at Knole, on which are painted images of Jesus Christ, Saint John the Baptist and some of the other apostles, which I bought from Sir Arthur Darcy, and also all of my wall cloths in my other chamber next to the chamber in which I sleep at Knole, on which are painted images of hunters with bears, boars and stags, which I bought from John Barret.

It is interesting to see that Warham, acclaimed by Erasmus as a man who eschewed the hunt, decorated his outer chamber with images of that very secular activity.⁵⁶⁸ In his own bedchamber, however, it was strictly Christian scenes that he saw. Warham’s use of the word ‘*pinguntur*’ to describe these hangings suggests that they were painted cloths rather than tapestries. Certainly this was the conclusion reached by Nicholas Mander.⁵⁶⁹ If they were indeed painted cloths then they were less costly than tapestry. Nonetheless, they should not be considered as a ‘poor man’s’ alternative to tapestry either since they were still expensive items in their own right.⁵⁷⁰ The meaning of the word ‘*pinguntur*’ is not, however, fixed firmly enough to conclude with certainty that they were not woven tapestries and the archbishops were undoubtedly able to afford

⁵⁶⁷ TNA PROB 11 24

⁵⁶⁸ Gough Nichols, *Pilgrimages*, p. 159

⁵⁶⁹ N. Mander, ‘Painted Cloths: History, Craftsmen and Techniques’, *Textile History*, 28:2 (1997), pp. 124-125

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

tapestry. Indeed, the inventory made at the death of Warham's successor Archbishop Cranmer records that he owned tapestries to the value of 69 10s. amongst them was a "pece of olde arras lined with canvas of the storie of Hercules conteynenge lx elles".⁵⁷¹ Whether this Hercules tapestry was ever at Knole we cannot say. Like Cranmer, however, Warham almost certainly owned tapestry too and undoubtedly hung them at Knole, but perhaps being more costly and more sumptuous than painted cloths they were reserved for rooms in which more people might see them than would in the archbishop's bedchamber.

1e) Panelling and other Carpentry

Many of Knole's interior walls must have been clad in wooden panelling or wainscot. None survives *in situ* but there is evidence of their former appearance. For much of the Middle Ages wooden panelling was plain and formed largely of timber boards laid vertically over the wall surface.⁵⁷² It was intended to make the room warmer and whilst it may have been painted it was not decorative in itself and was probably covered by hangings for most of the time. A nineteenth-century photograph of the Organ Room (F.127) shows that that space was formerly panelled in this fashion (Fig.58). The boards must have been removed in the early-twentieth century for they no longer survive but we may compare it to similar panelling in Courtney's Parlour at Maidstone Palace (Fig.107). The panelling there is also formed of vertical boards and although these have subsequently been divided by the addition of rails it is clear that the original appearance of these two spaces must have been similar. At Maidstone the panelling is attributed to Archbishop Bouchier and it seems plausible to make the same attribution to the former evident in the Organ Room at Knole.

By the sixteenth century panelling had developed into a decorative form of interior designed to be seen in its own right (good examples of which can be seen at The Vyne and at Hampton Court Palace). Although none survives intact at Knole it is possible that panels of linen-fold and antique work that have been reset into nineteenth century doors were taken from panelling installed in the house at the beginning of the sixteenth century by William Warham. The entrance doors to both Parlour Passage

⁵⁷¹ TNA E154 2 39 (f.71v)

⁵⁷² L. Hall, *Period House Fixtures & Fittings 1300-1900*, (Newbury: 2005), p. 136

(G.152) and Black Boy Passage (G.73 / G.68) from below Bouchier's Tower are formed from wooden panels showing Antique or Roman style heads in profile framed by a circular wreath – known as medallion heads (Figs.108–109). Close inspection of the panels shows that each head is repeated so that the doors show eight pairs of heads. However, it is apparent that in each case there is a difference in age between the pairs suggesting that one is original sixteenth-century work and the other is a nineteenth-century copy. This type of Antique work was typical of Warham's time and is similar, for example, to the panelling in the parlour at Smithills Hall, Bolton of c.1516.⁵⁷³ Similarly the doors in Parlour Passage (G.152) are made from pieces of linen-fold panelling. Given their varnished finish it is difficult to be certain that they are reused sixteenth-century pieces, but they are notably similar to a door in the mezzanine level flat (M.06-M.16) in the north-range of Water Court that is undoubtedly formed from panelling (Fig.110). Although we cannot say for certain whether any of these reused panels were taken from wainscoting at Knole (since they may have been bought as salvage from elsewhere) if they have always been at the house then it seems reasonable to suggest that they are evidence of panelled rooms that may be attributed to Warham.

Aside from this timber panelling some of the carpentry at Knole was very fine. When they altered the Great Hall (G.121) and added the Retainers Gallery (S.58) in the roof space above it, Thomas Sackville's builders reused pieces of wood taken from an earlier, redundant structure. Some of this survives as wall studs in the east wall of the Retainers Gallery (Fig.12). The timbers, five in all, appear to be parts of the same structure and are carved with multiple tiers of blind tracery with trefoil heads. Some of the tiers are interspersed with quatrefoils recessed in circular frames. The remaining pieces are all about 2m in height but they were evidently formerly taller since they have been cut down and split to be used as wall studs. Several of the pieces have carving on multiple faces and in some there is the evidence of mortices and peg-holes. They clearly then represent a substantial structure and although there is too little surviving to make confident suggestions about their former use, we might speculate, given their association with the Great Hall, that they were part of the original hall screen taken down when the extant screen was built in 1604-08. The tracery decoration is typical of the late-gothic and could be attributed to either the fifteenth or early-sixteenth centuries. However, given the size and permanence of a structure like a hall screen we might

⁵⁷³ Howard, p. 112

tentatively suggest that it may have been part of the initial phase of building and thus attributable to Bouchier or, perhaps, even to Fiennes (although the former seems more likely given that the house was not completed by the time of Fiennes' death).

CONCLUSION

Knole is undoubtedly one of England's most significant late-medieval houses and this thesis has helped to reinforce this by revealing the extent to which the Archbishops of Canterbury were responsible for the development of the extant building between 1456 and 1538. Although the poor survival of detailed accounts means that the exact shape and extent of the archbishops' buildings remains a matter for speculation, this thesis has shown that enough key documentary and physical archaeological evidence survives to give a clearer picture of both the building works and the functions of the house. Analysis of the annual summary accounts produced by the archbishops' Receivers in the bailiwick of Otford (Appendix 1), under whose authority Knole fell, has allowed us, for the first time, to produce a workable chronology of building phases and to assess the relative contributions of each archiepiscopal owner. In doing so we have revealed that the majority of the work may be credited to Archbishops Bouchier and Warham between 1456-86 and 1504-32 respectively. Although the other archbishops have previously also been suggested as patrons of the architecture at Knole this thesis has shown that this was not the case and that Archbishops Morton, Deane and Cranmer cannot have done more than routine maintenance and repair.

Much of the extant house was commissioned by Archbishop Bouchier who owned it from 1456-86. Initially during Phase 2 A.1 (1456-59) he consolidated earlier buildings that were begun by Sir James Fiennes but abandoned when Fiennes died in 1450. That house was primarily centred on Water Court in the east part of the extant building, but the foundations may have already been laid by Fiennes for a further courtyard, possibly on the same footings as Stone Court.

Bouchier's major building phase (Phase 2 A.2) occurred in 1460-68. During this period he remodelled the ranges around Water Court, including building the Chapel, and most significantly built a new courtyard, Stone Court, to the west of the house. This was fronted by the imposing gatehouse now known as Bouchier's Tower. During this phase his workforce included

some of the most skilled craftsmen of the day. Amongst them was Thomas Jurdan who had previously worked at Eton College and would leave Knole to become the Chief Bridge Mason at London Bridge and Master of the King's Masonry in the Office of Works. In this role he was responsible for building the Great Hall at Eltham Palace.

The evidence from the Receiver's accounts reveals that Bouchier undertook a third distinct phase of building in 1472-74 (Phase 2 A.3). This thesis suggests, for the first time, that it may have been during this phase that Green Court and Stable Court were laid-out since analysis of the surviving fabric shows similarities with Bouchier's works elsewhere at Knole. However, the accounts make it clear that this phase of work was characterised by the purchase of large quantities of brick (almost 500,000) and so the thesis speculates that some of the ranges surrounding Green Court were originally built of brick and were later rebuilt by a subsequent owner (probably Thomas Sackville in 1604-8). By the time of Bouchier's death in 1486, therefore, the broad footprint of Knole, that is still recognisable today, had been established.

Of Bouchier's successors neither Archbishops Morton nor Deane can be shown to have made any significant additions and were responsible only for the house's upkeep and repair. Archbishop Warham who owned the house from 1504-32 was the next major patron of work at Knole. His accounts are more incomplete than Bouchier's but, nonetheless, it is clear that significant work took place at Knole between 1508 and 1525. Warham's additions may be characterised as timber-framed as opposed to Bouchier's ragstone buildings. To Warham this thesis credits the timber ranges around Pheasant Court including the Pheasant Court Building itself and the range containing the Poets' Parlour and the Ballroom. In addition he also built the Brown Gallery with the arcaded Chapel Corridor below. This linked to the new first-floor ranges that he built along the east front which included the Spangle Bedroom and the Leicester Gallery.

Surviving fragments of the medieval interior decoration at Knole have been considered for the first time by this thesis. They include the wall paintings, stained glass and stone carvings commissioned by Bouchier with their focus on his own image, displayed through his heraldry and badges, and

the carved linenfold and antique-work panelling installed by Warham. Through these and the evidence from Warham's will that shows painted cloths or tapestries hung in his bedchamber at Knole and the instructions of Cranmer's ordinances that give an indication of the furnishings of the halls and chambers of his houses we have been able to reveal a luxury of appointment that heretofore has not been discussed.

At the same time as Warham was building at Knole he was also spending vast amounts of money on rebuilding the archiepiscopal house at Otford, four mile to the north of Knole. This thesis has shown that the two building projects ran concurrently and by analysing the uses of the two houses has argued that they could exist so close together by fulfilling different functions. Whilst Otford was a pleasure palace like Hampton Court, where the archbishops could entertain kings and important guests, Knole was a country retreat, a place for the archbishops to retire to either in moments of stress and high drama or in old age. This thesis has also revealed that Knole was the favoured place for the archbishops to spend Christmas.

The serenity that this implies was not always the case, however, and at times Knole could be the stage for high dramas of its own, such as when, in 1511-12, Archbishop Warham used it to conduct heresy trials. On such occasions Knole comes to the fore, but for the most part the sources are quiet about its functions and there is little direct evidence of its day-to-day use. This thesis has, therefore, considered a range of comparative sources including the letters of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, which describe meetings with the archbishop at Lambeth Palace, the accounts of the great enthronement feasts at Canterbury Palace, and the household ordinances of Archbishop Cranmer. It has also analysed the archbishops' itineraries by drawing on the evidence from their registers and from the State Papers. This has revealed that Knole was a building that could adapt to different functions. The room spaces inside it could be used in a variety of ways and the hierarchy of the house, which is often characterised by historians as rigidly defined by the architectural layout, could, in fact, be surprisingly flexible. It has also shown that the archbishops' houses were not a distinct type of building specifically designed to reflect the functions of the archiepiscopal office but were

functionally and physically much-like any other medieval great house or palace. For that reason, and given the extent of surviving medieval fabric in the extant building (a fact heretofore not fully appreciated), it is right that Knole should take a place as one of the great buildings of its age.

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Appendix 1

Receiver's Accounts for the Otford Bailwick

Archive	Reference	Regnal Date	Real Date
The National Archives	SC6 1128 21	21 Hen VI	1442-1443
MISSING			1443-1444
MISSING			1444-1445
MISSING			1445-1446
MISSING			1446-1447
MISSING			1447-1448
MISSING			1448-1449
The National Archives	SC6 1129 1	28-30 Hen VI	1449-1451
MISSING			1450-1451
The National Archives	SC6 1129 2	30-31 Hen VI	1451-1452
MISSING			1452-1453
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1240	32-33 Hen VI	1453-1454
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1241	33-34 Hen VI	1454-1455
The National Archives	SC6 1129 4	34-35 Hen VI	1455-1456
MISSING			1456-1457
The National Archives	SC6 1129 5	36-37 Hen VI	1457-1458
The National Archives	SC6 1129 6	37-38 Hen VI	1458-1459
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1242	37-38 Hen VI	1458-1459
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1346	38-39 Hen VI	1459-1460
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1243	39 Hen VI - 1 Edw IV	1460-1461
MISSING			1461-1462
The National Archives	SC6 1129 7	2-3 Edw IV	1462-1463
MISSING			1463-1464
The National Archives	SC6 1129 8	4-5 Edw IV	1464-1465
MISSING			1465-1466
The National Archives	SC6 1129 9	6-7 Edw IV	1466-1467
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 543	6-7 Edw IV	1466-1467
The National Archives	SC6 1130 1	7-8 Edw IV	1467-1468
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1348	7-8 Edw IV	1467-1468
The National Archives	SC6 1130 2	8-9 Edw IV	1468-1469

Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1244	8-9 Edw IV	1468-1469
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1245	9-10 Edw IV	1469-1470
The National Archives	SC6 1130 3	10-11 Edw IV	1470-1471
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 285	11-12 Edw IV	1471-1472
The National Archives	SC6 1130 4	12-13 Edw IV	1472-1473
The National Archives	SC6 1130 5	13-14 Edw IV	1473-1474
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1246	13-14 Edw IV	1473-1474
The National Archives	SC6 1130 6	14-15 Edw IV	1474-1475
MISSING			1475-1476
MISSING			1476-1477
The National Archives	SC6 1130 7	17-18 Edw IV	1477-1478
MISSING			1478-1479
The National Archives	SC6 1130 8	19-20 Edw IV	1479-1480
The National Archives	SC6 1130 9	20-21 Edw IV	1480-1481
The National Archives	SC6 1130 10	21-22 Edw IV	1481-1482
MISSING			1482-1483
MISSING			1483-1484
MISSING			1484-1485
MISSING			1485-1486
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1248	2-3 Hen VII	1486-1487
MISSING			1487-1488
MISSING			1488-1489
The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 331	5-6 Hen VII	1489-1490
The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 332	6-7 Hen VII	1490-1491
MISSING			1491-1492
The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 333	8-9 Hen VII	1492-1493
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1354	9-10 Hen VII	1493-1494
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1250	9-10 Hen VII	1493-1494
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1355	10-11 Hen VII	1494-1495
The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 334	11-12 Hen VII	1495-1496
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1357	11-12 Hen VII	1495-1496
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 2010	12-13 Hen VII	1496-1497
Centre for Kentish Studies	U269 M236	13-14 Hen VII	1497-1498
MISSING			1498-1499
The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 335	15-16 Hen VII	1499-1500

The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 1769	16-17 Hen VII	1500-1501
The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 336	16-17 Hen VII	1500-1501
The National Archives	SC6 HENVII 337	17-18 Hen VII	1501-1502
MISSING			1502-1503
MISSING			1503-1504
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1251	20-21 Hen VII	1504-1505
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1252	21-22 Hen VII	1505-1506
MISSING			1506-1507
MISSING			1507-1508
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1685	24 Hen VII - 1 Hen VIII	1508-1509
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1362	24 Hen VII - 1 Hen VIII	1508-1509
MISSING			1509-1510
MISSING			1510-1511
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1686	3-4 Hen VIII	1511-1512
MISSING			1512-1513
MISSING			1513-1514
MISSING			1514-1515
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1687	7-8 Hen VIII	1515-1516
MISSING			1516-1517
MISSING			1517-1518
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1364	10-11 Hen VIII	1518-1519
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1365	11-12 Hen VIII	1519-1519
MISSING			1520-1521
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1258	13-14 Hen VIII	1521-1522
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1688	14-15 Hen VIII	1522-1523
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1366	14-15 Hen VIII	1522-1523
MISSING			1523-1524
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1689	16-17 Hen VIII	1524-1525
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1690	17-18 Hen VIII	1525-1526
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1366A	17-18 Hen VIII	1525-1526

The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1691	18-19 Hen VIII	1526-1527
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1692	19-20 Hen VIII	1527-1528
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1693	20-21 Hen VIII	1528-1529
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1694	21-22 Hen VIII	1529-1530
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1695	22-23 Hen VIII	1530-1531
MISSING			1531-1532
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1696	24-25 Hen VIII	1532-1533
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1367	25-26 Hen VIII	1533-1534
MISSING			1534-1535
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1697	27-28 Hen VIII	1535-1536
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1698	28-29 Hen VIII	1536-1537
Lambeth Palace Library	ED 1368	28-29 Hen VIII	1536-1537
MISSING			1537-1538
The National Archives	SC6 HENVIII 1756	30-31 Hen VIII	1538-1539

Appendix 2

The Household Ordinances of Archbishop Cranmer

The Document

London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 884. Titled on the frontispiece; '*Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archbisshop of Cant.*'. However, the volume also contains some papers relating to Archbishop Cranmer's successors.

Physical Description

LPL 884 is a bound volume of documents relating to the households of the archbishops of Canterbury. It contains 36 folios all on paper of apparently various sources (none of the folios contain watermarks). Each folio is approx. 200x300 mm although damage to the edges has caused some irregularity in size. The documents range in date from 1561 to 1663. The binding is leather and of a later date than the documents it contains.

Folios 1-26 are numbered in pencil on the top right of the recto. Between folios 18-19 and 24-25 are un-numbered folios hereafter referred to as f.18 and f.24 respectively. Folios 23-26v are all blank. Ten folios at the rear of the volume following f.26 are un-numbered (although some have non-sequential page numbers at the base of the page). These folios shall hereafter be referred to as ff.27-36.

Contents

Frontispiece: Titled, '*Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archbisshop of Cant.*' [Written in a mid-sixteenth century secretary hand consistent with ff.1-22 (dated to 1561 or soon after). Paper also appears consistent although is pasted onto later paper for binding. The initial 'O' is ornamented with scrolls and flourishes .

Folios 1-6: Explanation of the roles and responsibilities of the household officers. The hand is mid-sixteenth century secretarial consistent with ff.1-22 (dated to 1561 or soon after). Single column of text divided into short paragraphs by headings in a larger text size. Occasional marginated headings .

Folios 6v-7v: List of charges relating to the enthronement of Archbishop Parker in 1560. Presents an anomaly in terms of content but is in a mid-sixteenth century secretary hand consistent with ff.1-22 (dated to 1561 or soon after). Single column of text but includes the following marginated note at the head of f.6v: “*So sett owt at the // entry of Matthue Arch. B: // of Canter: by Willm // Piercie Register to the Archdeacon of Canter:*”

Folios 8-22v: Copy of the household statutes. Written in a mid-sixteenth century secretary hand consistent with ff.1-22 (dated to 1561 or soon after). Single column text divided into paragraphs by headings in a larger text size. From f.11 onwards there are marginated paragraph numbers. Folios 8, 18 and 19 show ornamented capitals signifying the start of new sections within the text .

Folios 23-26v: All blank.

Folios 27-30v: “*Orders and ordinances for the Govern[en]t of my house and family at*”. Early seventeenth century secretary hand. Inscription on f.30v dates these folios to 1622 .

Folios 31-32v: “*Orders for my House etc.*”. [Mid-seventeenth century secretary hand showing some transition to italics. No specific dating evidence in text .

Folios 33-34v: “*Orders to the Porter*”. [Four numbered paragraphs in two different italic hands. Dated 1663 on f.34v

Folios 35-36v: “*Orders to be observed for ye Govern[en]t of ye House & ffamily of ye*”. [Mid-seveneenth century italic hand. Dated 31st July 1662 on f.36v .

Orders and Statutes of howshold observed in the howse of Tho: Cranmer sometymes Lo: Archebisshop of Cant.

(f.1)

Orders Admission

Firste yt was the order that assone as any gentleman was entertained by the Lord, or yoman by Steward or hedd Officer (by the Lo: appoyntment) before he waiyeted on the Lord: he should present hymselfe in the Counting Howse before the hedd officers, and there should the Statutes of the howse be redd unto hym, after w^{ch} an Othe was ministred unto hym to be true and faithfull unto the Lo: And to doe his dutie in his chardge of service according to his calling to his possible power After w^{ch} othe taken his name was entred wth the daie and yere by the Steward, or an other hedd Officer in the Checkroll.

Hedd Officers

Hedd Officers all suche were accompted, whome the Lord did call to be of Counsaile in his affaires, by what name soever they were called: And these did twise or thrise a weeke (or oftner yf occasion served) meete together in the Countinghouse to take order for the Lord es better service and to redres all faulte and disorders, according as the fault required.

Inferior Officers

Inferior Officers were suche as receyved their direction from the hedd Officers, and were not of the Lo: Connsaile nor admitted to the Counting howse, as the gent of the horsse ...

(f.1v)

... the Clerke of the Kytchyn, the gent Usshers. All thes had their sev er all charge and duties, In the execution whereof yf they failed, they were to be reformed by the hedd Officers according to the qualitie of their offence, Except the case were heinous and then one of the hed Officers advertised the Lord thereof.

Clerke of the Kytchyn.

The Clerke of the Kythyn was bound to attend on y counting howse daie in the Counting howse upon the hedd officers to answeere suche questions as should be demanded of hym touching the Lo: service.

A greate booke or Legier was alwaies kept in the Counting howse wherein by the Clerke of the kytchyn was recorded all suche thinge as were done by the hed Officers in the Counting howse: to thend that yf the Lo: did desire to understand yt he might p er ceave by the booke bothe what good orders the tooke from tyme to tyme for his better service . And

also howe they reformed such faultes and inconveinences as happened there in: The forme thereof was such.

Anno. 1566.

*Aprilis
Mensis vicesimo
Di veneris.*

Complaynt was made of such, or such a matter committed by H.N. the said H.N. being thereof convicted yt was thus, or thus ordered.

Subscribed by the hedd officers
hand es so many as be present.

And in like manner for ev er ie one that was noted to neglect his dutie in his charge being called into the Counting howse before the hedd officers.

(f.2)

Anno 1566

*Mensis Aprilis 24
Lune*

Whereas it is observed that for lacke of due consideracon in such or suche poynte suche or suche inco n veinences have ensued, yt is thus or thus ordered that from hensforth

Subscribed by the hedd Officers
hand es so many as be present.

And so in all cases as occasion required.

Everi Saterdaie in the after none, the gent ussher that wayted that weeke, brought in a note into the Counting howse of such as had wayted the weeke before, and delived yt to the hedd Offciers, and in case any were disordered, or slacke and negligent in doing their dutie, noted the p er sons And the hedd Officers calling the Offender before them, imediatly toke order for reformacon as the cause required. The like bill was brought by the Marshall, or yoman ussher of the hall.

Every mondaie morning the gent ussher for that weeke came to the Counting house, and toke a note of suche as were to attend the weeke following in the greate Chamber (lykewise the marshall, or yoman ussher of the hall) and according to that note, A bill was made wherein every mans name and chardge was sett downe, and that byll was fastened on the back side of the greate chamber doore: to be seene of everyman, that none could pleade ignorance of his chardge.

The Gentleman ussher was to see good order kepte in the greate Chamber, and every morning both winter and sommer to be ther betwene six and vij in the ~~morning~~ sommer, and vij and viij in the winter, bothe to see that the Gromes, and yoman usshers of the Chamber did their office, and

also to send for the gentlemen wayters that were absent to gyve there attendance. Neyther was yt lawfull ...

(f.2v)

... for the gentleman ussher in his wayting weeke unlesse he attended upon the Lord hym selfe to goe any where owt of the howse wthout the lycence of a hedd Officer, nor owt of the greate chamber at any tyme unles a hedd Officer were in place, and made privy unto yt, or that he had in his absence substituted his fellowe to waight for hym tyll his retorne Soe that from the howres before mentioned both winter and sommer untill ix of the clocke at night, he and his company were were *sic* bounde to gyve theire Attendance in the greate chamber, not to do yt thence wthout a reasonable cause and intimacon thereof gyven to a hedd Officer, yf he were p re sent, Or the Gentleman ussher in the hedd Officers absence, and that onely wthin the howse: but wthout the howse never, except the hedd Officer were made privie unto yt.

The hedd Officers likewise, were as often as the could (for waightier affares, to make theire abode in the greate chamber, both to see how well the gentleman usshers executed theire duties: And also for other causes touching the Lo: hono^r in causes of interteyning of strangers, or otherwise.

The hedd Officers had commandment throughout the howse wthout lymitacon (respecting alwaies both the Lo. p ro fitt and hono^r) inferio^r officers and gentlemen wayters were all stinted in the Counting howse ev er y man according to his calling.

At the Counting howse dore, when the hedd Officers satt about the Lo: affaires, one of the yoman usshers did euer attende wth a white rod in his hand, to be sent by them to and fro, as occasion required.

The Statutes, and the Legier boke, and all other recorde of the Counting howse were in the Custody of the Clerke of the Kytchyn who kept the key of the counting howse dore and by his man gave all the hedd Officers intelligence of ev er y counting howse daie as often as he was enioyned by the Steward, Threasorer, or Comptroller soe to doe.

(f.3)

The Treasurers office.

The Treasurer in place was next the Steward, and was for the Lo: betweene the Steward and the Comptroler his office, (beside his chardge in seeing good order observed in the howse w^{ch} (in his place) was equall wth the Stewards Comptrollers, or any hedd Officers) was to receyve and keepe all money that was yerely to be spent in howsehold causes wthin the howse. So that when any paiement was to be made either by Steward, or Comptroller, of any bill or otherwise theire came or sent unto the

Treasurer wth all bills subscribed wth theire hande, wth *probatum est*, and hee after due examacon of them, write under the said bills *Examinatum est per H.M.* So that the bills had first theire allowaunce and *Probatu est* of the Steward, and Comptroler: And after that, *Exaiatu est* of the Treasurer, And so payment was made.

The Treasurer at the Audit chardged both Steward and Comptroller upon sevrall titles (as will after appeare) And the came the Treasurer wth all the money he had receyved.

Besides every q uar ter in the counting howse the Treasurer brought in his account, and ther yt was recorded, And an extract of that record both under the Stewards and Comptrolers hande, and the other hed Officers brought to the Audyt.

An Indenture tripartite was made of all the Lo: goods that should be occupied in the howshold, The one parte whereof remayned wth the Lo: thother withe the Steward, and the third wth the Comptroller.

The Steward made owt of his Indenture other Indentures betwixt hym and the p ar ticular Officers, As betwixt hym and the yoman of the Wardrobe, the yoman ...

(f.3v)

... of the horsse, of the Seller, of the Pantry, of the Buttry of the Ewry as of all w^{ch} yerely against the Audyt A due reckoning was made.

The Comptroler made a booke and divided yt in to certaine tytles, as Wardrobe, Stable, Kytchyn, Ewry, Jorneyng Necc es , Borde wagis, Rewarde, Wagis and liveries, Pulia Exemes , Provision, Spicery, and Rep er ac i ons.

When any thing was bought wherewth the wardrobe was to be chardged, A bill was made thereof according to the forme hereafter written, The w^{ch} bill the Comptroler examied cast over, and wrott to the totall forme as appeareth.

June 1561

Thomas Marshall asketh allowances
for xx^{tie} elwes of canvas by hym bought of

N. At viij^d the elwexiiij^s iiij^d

Item for xx^{tie} burden russhesxiiij^s iiij^d

S um m^a xvij^s viij^d

Probatur per me N.N.

Ultimo die Junij 1561

And then the Comptroler after he had entred the Lynnen clothe in his owne coppie of the Lords inventory entred the bill in his owne Booke under the title that the bill beares, in the margent, as followeth.

(f.4)

June 1561

Wardrobe **To** Thomas Marshall ultimo Junij 1561 p ro billa xvj^s viij^d

And the same manner was used in the title of the Stable, Kytchen, and Ewry.

Journieng

When any servaint was to be sent forth on the Lords busines, he gave knowledge thereof to the Comptroller, and likewise at his comyng home againe who noted the daie of his going forth, and comyng home in his wast booke, And when the servant cam to have his bill figured, the Comptroller examined the same wth his owne remembraunce, and there after allowed the bill.

What every gent should have for a daies Journieyng with his horse, and what a yoman, yt was appoynted certainly in the booke of the Lords Statutes, w^{ch} were at thadmission of evry servaunt redd over to the company in the Compting howse, and evry q uar ter beside.

If thallowance after the Lords rate were to little the Lord did supplie the rest by his owne warrant directed to the Steward by waye of rewarde. The forme of the bill figuring and entring was as followeth.

June 1561

Journeing **Thomas** Graunt asketh allowance
for iiij daies Journieng into Wales about
the Lords busines his horse and hym selfev^s iiij^d

Itm for two new shoes and one removevij^d

S um m^a v^s xj^d

*Probatur per me N.N.
xx^{mo} die Junij 1561*

(f.4v)

June 1561

Journeyng **To** Thomas Graunt p ro billa xx Junij 1561 v^s xj^d

Wagis and Livery

The Comptroller had a copy of the checkrolle whereby he knewe what entertainment evry servaunt should have And when the Steward had paid wags or gyven lyvries he sent his bill to the Comptroller to be signed, who examined the wth his checkroll, and allowed the accordingly And the entred into his owne booke as followith

January 1561

To T. Marshall ~~the Steward~~ p ro billa
x^{mo} Januarij 1561xx^{li}

Pulia

The Comptroller did evry weeke p er use the Cators booke and did correct the excessive pres of things bought by hym and payed owt all things mencioned in the Cators booke and cast on his booke, and wrot to the totall some *Probat e st* And entred in his owne booke as followeth

June 1561

Pulia **To** the Cator ultimo Junij 1561vij^{li}

Provision

Under this title was comprehended, many things bought by the Steward and others, As bifes, mutton veales, braunes, pork es , ling es , stockfish, wyne wheate, malte, pease, otes c And when the Steward es bill came to the Comptroller to be figured ...

(f.5)

... the Comptroller did paie owt the thing es mentioned in the same and wrot to the some by hym cast downe *Probat'* &c And then entred in his owne booke as followeth

June 1561

Provision **To** the Steward p ro billam x^{mo} Junij 1561x^{li}

Everie monneth the Clarke of the Spicery brought his bill to the Comptroller who examined the same, paied it owt, cast yt over, and wrott to the some *Probat &c* And then entred in his booke

Junij 1561

To N. p ro billam ultimo Junij 1561C^{li}

Exemes

When any present was gyven to the Lord, the Comptroller toke knowledge of it, and entring it into his booke priced yt to the clarke of the kytchen who issued owt accordingly.

The Steward kept a boke of the same titles as the Coptroller did and entred the bill signed after the same name as the Comptroller did.

Everie weeke remaine was taken of the wyne and allowance gyven to the yoman of the Seller by the Comptroller of all reasonably expendid, w^{ch} the Comptroller did enter into his copie, and then signed his bill w^{ch} was delived to the Clarke of the kytchen to enter

The like order was used wth the yoman of the Ewery for lights.

(f.5v)

Everie week remaine was taken in everie inferio office by the Steward and Comptroller, And upon divisions founde the officer had a checke, yet was he not thereby dischargd of his fault, but left to the Lord es m er cy till after the Audit where he should be called to accompte.

It was rated by the officers of the Compting howse how mucche the bruer should drawe of evry quarter, and how much the baker should ~~bake~~ make of evry busshell And if the bere were faltie, the Comptroller had authority to refuse yt. And like wise of the bread, Also yf the bread lacked waight, the Comptroler reforme the Pantlers talie according to the p ro porcon of the rate.

Everie morning in the Counting howse y^e Comptroler did p er use the Pantlers bill, and tried yt by the ushers boke, For the ussher kept a booke of all messes of meate spent in the howse both at dinner and supper, And finding hym to aske allowance for more then the usshers booke made mention of, or for more then the rate agreed in by the officers of the Compting howse for lyvries, or for more, then he did shew good cause of expence he did abridge hym of his demaunde, and entring the same in his copie wrot to the bill *Probat &c* Which was warrant to the Clerke of the kitchyn so to entre.

The same tyme also he p er used the yoman of the Larders boke, and if he found that thexpence were contrarie to thusshers booke, or rate agreed by the Officers of the Compting howse, or were more then should appeare by good cause, he did comptroll it and entring it in his owne copie, wrot to the Larderers booke, *Probat* And the the Clerke of the kytchen did enter yt.

(f.6)

It was ordered that everie gelding should have weekly a bussell of otes, and every stoned horse a bussell and a halfe.

Everie moneth the yoman of the horse did acompt to the Comptroller who allowed hym after the rate, made defalcations for horses absent, or sent owt abowt the Lords busines, and the entred the same in his And wrot to the yomans boke *Probat &c* And thereby he had allowance at thaudit.

Everie office did accompte at the Audit whom the Treasurer did chardge the Steward wth mony receyved, And the Comptroler wth title of p ro vision.

Against the Audit remayne was taken of all graine And if the same with the butlers, and pantlers talies, and meale delivred into the kytchen did amounte to the graine w^{ch} the brewer and Baker had receyved of the Steward then upon their accompt rendred, they had their quietas est. otherwise they stode at the Lords mercie.

When the Lord went to the courte warning was gyven to the servants that should attend upon hym by one of the yomen usshers who had a byll made by the officers of the Compting howse in that behalfe, And at the Lords retorne, the ussher made the byll for all the servants and brought the same to the Comptroler wth the bill w^{ch} he had to warne them by: And the Comptroler figured the bill allowing for ev er y yoman a vj^d a daye, and for ev er y gent a viij^d and entred in his booke.

Junij 1561

To Will iam Mannford p ro billa xij^o Junij 1561x^s

(f.6v)

The charges

Margin So sett owt at the entry of Matthue Arch. B: of Canter: by Willm Piercie Register to the Archdeacon of Canter:

First in ordinarie fees to the Queenes howshold, and the chardges of the consecrationCCC^{li}

Itm the expences of the yo ur intronisation	CC ^{li}
Itm the furniture of yo ur howshold stuffe as bedding, hangings, tapestries, Carpettes	CCC ^{li}
Itm chaires Audirons, tables, stooles, chests pewter, brasse, and all other man ner of kitchen stuffe	Cxx ^{li}
Itm lynnens of all sorts	Lxxx ^{li}
Itm the furniture of yo' Chappell in // meane sort	xx ^{li}
Itm a Barge w th thapparrell	xx ^{li}
Itm xx ^{tie} geldings at the least	Lxxx ^{li}
Itm the furniture of the stable, as saddles bridles, Sumpter and other like	xx ^{li}
Itm fowre great horses according to the Statute	xl ^{li}
Itm the furniture of the Armory, as dimilaunces, Corsletts, Almon Rivets, Launces, g pikes, bills, halberts, and bowes and arrowes, according to the Statute	C ^{li}
Itm necessarie howshold plate	C ^{li}
Itm lyvries for yo' servaunts, gentlemen yomen, and gromes, viz in Cloth and velvets	Lxxx ^{li}
(f.7)	
Itm woodd, haye, and otes	xl ^{li}
Itm in provision to be made for yo ur howshold wheate, malte, beffes, and muttons	C ^{li}
Itm for fishe viz, Saltfishe, Lyng and Stockfishe for Store	xxx ^{li}
Itm in wynes	xx ^{li}
Itm the necessarie furniture of yo ur selfe viz Silks, velvets, fures	xl ^{li}
Itm ye must make reckoning of other chardgs that of necessitie will followe amounting to the some of a CC ^{li} at the least	CC ^{li}

S[um]m^a m^R . viij^C . iiij^{xx} . x^{li}

It is to be remembred that yee p re cure a warrant for the dischargde of the subsidies that were the varations, for so much as the Queenes ma^{tie}: hath had hole proffite.

Itm it is to be remebred that ye p re cure a warrant that ye maie have the p ro fitts growing, a festo Annunciaonis ultimo.

Out of the w^{ch} ye must paie a Subsidy Amounting to CCC^{li} and more.

Itm it is to be remembred that ye doe make staye of suche tymber and ymplements of howshold as do remaine at Ford, and at Canterbury and were bought by M aster Vaughan and M aster Wyld, and to have them at the same prices, as it was conditioned wth the Commyssioners at the sale c.

(f.7v)

Itm it is ~~specified~~ specially to be remebred, that the Queenes Ma^{tie}: be moved, as touching the exchange of the Lands and the recompense according to the Statutes, where in ye must desire her grace to take those Lands that yo u maie most conveniently spare, unles her Ma^{tie}. for some speciall cause will desire to have some manno r above the rest.

Casuall profitts

First the halfe yeres ferme dewe at Michelmas

Itm the procurations of the visitacons to be exercised *Jure metropolitico p[ro] totam puincian* about the costs and chardges of the sameCCCC^{li}

Itm dilapidations from the Cardinalls executo rsiiij^{C li}

In the margin These must be done by some other and not by yo ur selfe. *Ad cuitandum // Scandolum.*

Itm in Fines upon the grant of new leases, and wodd sales, and for fines of Customarie Lands.

S[um]m^a xiiij^{C li}

(f.8)

Howshold Statutes

First it is ordeined that every howshold man of what degree or condicon he be of shall here daily the divine service in daies accordingly, And that there shalbe one of my lordes Chapleynes readie to saie Mattens, Communion and evensong to the howshold, And that every gentelman, yoman and grome not having reasonable excused shalbe at the said service.

Lodging wthin the howse and waighting

Itm that everie person of the howshold be wthin the same howse every night wthout cause reasonable approved, in sommer by nyne of the clocke, and in winter by eight And none of them dep ar t from the howshold wthout lycence, but daily to be attendant upon the Lorde wthin and wthout where soever he ride or goo, Except officers and such other as shalbe appointed to the contrarie, by the hed officers.

Saruant[es], servaunt es and horses

Itm that no p er sonne wthin the howshold shall keepe any servaunte nor horses, mor then shalbe appoynted by the Lord, and shall gyve them sufficient wagis, and lyvry of the Lords color to waight upon the Lord at his commanndement.

Keyes of Chambers

Itm that every man at the Lords removing shall deliv er the key of his chamber unto the keep er of the Lords howse and receave of hym the same againe at the Lords retorne.

Mores famuloru

Itm that everie p er son of howshold of what degree or condicon he be abstaine hym selfe from all manner of othes, uncomely language, wordes of ribaldry, mocking and ...

(f.8v)

... scorning, vicious rewle, and suspect places, and make no debates, pick no quarrells, nor smite any p er son for any manner of cause or occasion gyven by word or deede, or keepe any dogges wthin the howshold, or make any noyse by night, as shoting, cryeng, and blowing of horns whereby any sclannder or noyance maie growe wthin, or wthout.

Conveying of vessell and vitaill out of the gates

Itm that no manner of p er son conveighe any man er of vessell, or vitall owt of the gates, nor into any chamb er or other place wthout knowledge of a hedd officer. Nor breake any dore or windowes, nor picke any locke by night nor by daie, of any chamb er or howse of office wthout the commanndement of an hedd officer.

Service at the second course

Itm that all such persons as shalbe appointed to serve the Lord at his second course Imediatly after they have done retorne downe into the hall

to dynner or supper wthout tarrieng in the chamber, or taking wth them any dishe or meate, wthout it be gyven them by the Almoner or Kerver.

The inferio[r] officers reformacon

Itm yf it so be that the hedd officers finde any officer wasting, or outrageous, they shall send for them into the counting howse, and there examyn hym of his trespas yf he doe not amend, they shall rectifie the Lord of his default, and put hym from his office after monition as hereafter shalbe appoynted.

(f.9)

The inferio r officers accompt

Itm it is ordeyned that everie officer shall ~~have~~ for all suche some and parcels as to his office be longeth or be delived, accomp wth the Clerke of the kytchen monthly, and wth the hedd Officers quarterly of the same. And the Cator to endent and accompt weekly at the furthest wth the Steward, and Clerke of the Kytchen, And if any thing lacks, or be lost in the said Cator or other Officers default they shall paie therefore of their wagis, or stand to the Lords grace.

Noo festing, or banketing to be in the offices

Itm it is ordayned that no p^{er} sonne come into any office no an officer into an other to make any dynner, supper s, or common breakfaste, or drinkinge, wthout speciall lycence of an hed Officer, nor that any officer delyver any manner of vitall owt of his office but such, and at such tyme and season, as shalbe appointed by an hedd Officer.

Playeng at dice and cardes

Itm yt is ordained and straightly commannded and forbidden that none of the Lords ~~said~~ howshold take upon hym to playe any manner of game at dice, carde, or other hasardry in any chamber or place, except openly in the hall, or the greate chamber. And there also onely in the xij daies in Christmas, and the holy daies from Alhollon daie unto Candlemas, and then not after ix of the clocke in the night.

Fees

Itm yt is ordeyned and appoynted that no officer of my Lords howshold take any Fees in their offices but such as shalbe appointed by the hedd Officers.

(f.9v)

Itm that no p^{er} sonnes of the howshold of what degree, or coⁿ dition he be leave behinde hym whan he departeth owt of the howse- hold, neither

man, childe, horse, greyhounde, nor other hounds at the said Lords chardge.

The inferio r Officers

Itm that every servaunt and officer be faithfull and diligent and attend in his office according to his dutie, and be obedient unto the hedd Officers, Curties and familiar to strangers for my Lords hono r . And yf any do contrary that his defalt be rehersed to hym in the Counting howse And by the discretion of the hedd Officer to be corrected.

The first daye of every moneth

Itm that every chargeable and accomtable officer, that is to saie, the Baker, Panter, Butlers, of wyne and ale Larderer, Caters, Squillerers, Husshers of the hall, and yomen of the Ewry attend the first daie of evry moneth, and gyve unto the hedd Officers wth the Clerke of the kytchen the remaine in their offices, and the same daie see the p ro vision made before, and thereupon understand and know the allowance upon the same.

The hedd officers chardge

Itm that the said hedd Officers to whome the power and auctority in theise premisses be comitted doe their effectuall endevo r and diligence in executing the ordinannces afore rehersed.

Ryding in the company of the Lord

Itm yt is ordeyned that every p er sonne of howshold at such seasons as my Lord rideth, ryde not owt of my Lords company, except such as shalbe appoynted wth the Sumpter ...

(f.10)

... horse, officers purvio r , and other w^{ch} shalbe assigned by the hedd Officers for preparing of vitalls and other stuffe. And that every of the said p er sons and officers ride according to their degrees, hedd Officers next unto my Lord, except the Crossebearer, And next after my Lord, doctors, and chaplaines And then yomen, And after them gromes, pages and males, and that no p er sonne departe before ne his servannt, ne tarry behinde, nor take no lodging, but such as shalbe appoynted by the harbengers wthout cause reasonable approued, or lycence had, And that none receyve ryding wage but suche as ryde in the Lords company from place to place.

The hedd Officers chardge.

Itm it is ordeyned that the hedd Officers, or two of them at the least be twice in the weeke in the Counting howse and call before them all my Lords officers, comannding and straightly chardging them on my Lords

behalfe to be honest and vertuous, and of good conversation, trewe and diligent in theire offices to the most hono r and p ro fitt of my said Lord,

And what Officer is seene most courteous, most obedient, and most diligent, and can do best service, of what degree he be that he shewed to my Lorde, that he maie be furthered to a better service, or marriage, whereby all other p er sons maie take example to doe the better service for my Lords hono r , And suche to arryse from rome to rome, and that once a daie an hedd officer to come into ev r y Office, and see the guyding ~~and~~ rule and disposicions of the said offices, and yf he finde any defalt shortly to send for the said Officers into the Counting howse, and ther to see yt reformed, and punished, And everie trespasser whether he be officer, or other p er son, for his first and second trespas to be punisshed by warnings and to be entred into the booke of howshold. And at the third trespasse to deliv er hym his wage and cleane put hym owt of howshold.

(f.10v)

Porters

Itm it is ordained that the porters shall dewly and truly keepe my Lordes gates from fowre of the clocke in the morning unto ix of the clocke in the evening from the xvth daie of marche unto the xvth daie of Octob er , And from v of the clocke in the morning unto viij of the clocke in the evening, from the xvth of Octob er unto the xvth of m ar ch.

Itm that they suffer no man to come into the gates from the tyme that they understand that the Sewer be at the Dresser for my Lords dynner or supper , unto the tyme the latter dynner and supper be done, And yf any p er son in that season would come in, the Porters curteously to answere hym and to knowe the cause of his comyng, And yf he be a p er son of honestie to take hym into his Lodge, and to send for the p er son whome he would speake wth. And yf he be suche a p er sonne as would speake wth my Lorde then the Porters to come to an hedd Officer and shewe to hym such a p er son is wth in his Lodge to thensent he maie fellowship hym, and so by hym the matter to be shewed to my Lord, or els the p er sonne to be brought unto hym.

Itm that before the Sewer be at the dresser for my Lord the Porter, theshall come to dresser, and there receave his messe of meate, and so straight to his Lodge, And that he suffer no vytall, meate, breade, vessell, nor Fees to goe or passe owt of the gates during the said tyme wthout he have knowledge from the hedd Officers.

Usshers of the Chamber

Itm it is ordayned that the usshers of the chamber shall keepe, or doe duly cause to be kept by them selfe, or a yoman the dore of the greate chamber, and in reasonable tyme to commannde the Officers to prepare for my

Lords dynner and supper, and to see fier made in my Lords chamber by a grome thereof, And Torches and lighte in tyme needfull for the same.

(f.11)

Dayly waighters in the great chamber

22. **Item** yt is ordained that a gentleman ussher a yoman husscher, foure gentlemen and yomen of the chamber be daily attendante upon my Lorde in his great chamber by vj of the clocke in the morning unto his departure unto his owne chamber lodging towarde his bedd at night and these per sonnes to be appoynted daily by an husscher.

Waighters at the Lords table.

23. **Item** that the husscher when the Lord dyneth abrode shall appoynte the Kerver, Sewer, and Cupbearer, and gentlemen waighters for my Lords borde, and that no per sonne serve at my Lords borde, before he hath receyved his othe in the Counting howse, nor that any Kerver, Sewer, nor Cupbearer convey awaie any dysshes from my Lords table wthout lycence of my Lorde, or of the Almoner, nor that the Sewer dylyver any dishe to be borne to my Lords borde but only by gentlemen yf they be present, And after the Kerver and Sewer have wasshed theire hande to touche nor medle wth any manner of thing, save only that w^{ch} they be appoynted. And that none of the said husschers enter into my Lords secrete chamber wthout he be admitted by my Lord.

The husschers for receyving of strangers

24. **Item** that the husschers of the chamber see redyly that all strangers be honestly receyued, and theire chamber made cleane every man after his degree, and that they lacke neither bere, ale wyne, nor fyer ne candles in tyme of the yere. And yf there be a man of worship, a cubberd clothe, A bason, and an ewer, waxe and a towell And yf any of these things lacke to goe to the Officer and command them to sett yt forth:

(f.11v)

Husschers for the serving of the Lords livery

25. **Item** yt is ordayned that the husschers shall sett livery all night for my Lorde by vij or viij of the clocke at the farthest, onlesse there be causes to the contrary, to thintent that the howses of office, and the gates maie be shott in due tyme, and that no lyv r y be made nor delyved, after my Lorde be served for all night, and that none of them that fetch lyv r y for my Lord, or for any other strangers at any tyme enter into any office, but receive it at the dore or barr.
26. **Item** that the gromes of the chamber fetch no woodd, light, nor waxe more then reasonable ought to be spent, And that by the oversight of the hedd

Officers, and hushers of the chamb er , And that there be delived no torch nor torchette owt of the place wthout commanndement of my Lords hedd offic er s and hushers, and that they bring daily theire torches and torchette before one of the Ewry to be wayed, and that none of the howshold take any torch, or torchett owt of the Ewry into the Court, or his chamb er , Towne or other place, wthout lycence of the hedd Officer.

27. **Itm** yt is ordained that the Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller, take to them selfe, as they maie gyve good example to the howshold, and that ev r y two Chapleynes and gentlemen have for theire liv r y ev r y night from Alhollantye to goodfrydaie two shids of woodd, two white lighte, and halfe a lofe of howshold breade, a quart of beare or ale And from Goodfrydaie, to Alhollantide breade bere, or ale only, And that no mans servant take any wodd wthout deliv r annce of the hushers, or keeper of the wooddyard And that the Doctors in stedd of howshold breade shall have manchetts.

28. **Itm** that no lyv r y of breade, beare or ale, nor vitaill be made to the Stable, owt of any office nor place wthout ov er sight and commanndement of an hedd Officer.

- (f.12)

29. **Itm** it is ordained that the Marshall shall appoynt daily a grome husher to be in the hall at vj of the clocke in the morning to make yt cleane, and to see in tyme convenient fyer in the same.

30. **Itm** that the Marshall, yoman husher and gromes be daily waighting in the hall at dynner and supper, and none of the hushers waighters dyne but at the latter dynner and supp, and shall see ev r y p er son served accordingly from ev r y office, and commannde all officers in convenient tyme to prepare and ordeyne in theire offices for the said hall, and during the tyme of dynner and supper the marshall, and the hushers waighters shall have theire commanndements in ev r y office for the hall, and also that a yoman husher be daily in the Counting howse by viij of the clocke in the morning, and there to shewe the Clerke of the kytchen what messes of meate were spent in the hall the daie before at dynner and supper . And lykewise what breade, wyne and ale, and what nomb er of strangers there were, And that weekly ev r y yoma n husher keepe his p ar te.

31. **Itm** that the marshall see that no man sitt wth an hedd Officer in the hall, except such as it shall please them to call unto them nor any other p er sons to sit in the hall beside theire appointment, or assignem en t, And that no mans servant sit in the hall, unto such tyme they have served the hall.

32. **Itm** that the marshall nor husher suffer any vitaill at meale tymes to passe throughe the hall into any office, or chamb er unlesse yt be gyven by A hedd Officer for my Lords hono r , except the Porters Lodge,

Bargemen, and workmen, and they also to be attendant when the Almoner cometh in and his poore men to see them served from ev r y office.

(f.12v)

33. **Itm** that no man bring any stranger to be sett in the hall but first he shewe to an hedd Officer or marshall, and to tell of what Condiscon he be of to thintent he maie be sett thereafter yf he be a gent to sit like a gent, yf he be a yoman to sitt as a yoman, A grome, as a grome, And yf there be many strangers to sitt them nighe together, and that they be rewarded as neede shalbe.
34. **Itm** that the yomen husshers sitt by them selfs at the borde at the hall doore, and there to have a messe of meate according for yomen, and that they suffer no other p er sonne of howshold nor stranngers to sitt wth them, wthout the comanndem en t of an hedd Officer, And that ev r y of my Lords servaunts be readye to doe service at dynner and supper, at the warning of the marshall or hussher.
35. **Itm** that the marshall and hussher sit at the serving borde at tyme of breakefast and dynner that there be no kombing of hedde, leaping, wrastling, or any other unthrifite or lewde towches, evill language, or railing, and that one of the husshers be appoynted to see daily thereto, and yf any suche p er sons be to certifie yt in the counting howse, and there they to see yt reformed and punished.
36. **Itm** the marshall and hussher shalbe accomptable and ordaine all bourds, trestles, formes russhes and strewing that belongeth to the hall, And in the same wise the husshers chamber, for the chamber.
37. **Itm** yt is ordained that the marshall shall appointe weekly an hussher for the counting howse to attende upon the hedd Officers, who at ev r y such tyme when he shalbe demaunded, or called shall keepe the counting howse doore wth a rodd in his hand, and warne and goe for ev r y such p er sonne as he shalbe required to bring them to the Counting howse And what p er sonne that disobeieth ...

(f.13)

... hym in his commanndement, for that disobedience to be brought by a porter into the said Counting howse, and there to be punished for his trespas, and that neither for old service, nor for newe, any trespasse be favored but to be punished according to his trespas. Ne that any hedd Officer nor other take p ar tie nor favo r any manne r of p er sonne of howshold more one then an other in that w^{ch} app er teyneth to my Lord, and to his ordinances upon his perill, as he will avoyd my Lords greate displeasure.

38. **Itm** yt is ordained that the Garnatoure shall daily oversee hys Garnett, and keepe yt cleane, and cast his wheate at seasonable tymes, so that for

default of ou r sight the said wheate take no hurte, and to receave no wheate into the garnett, but that w^{ch} shalbe good and sweete, and at the receaving thereof to see yt measured, and to deliv er yt to the myllers by taile and waight, and thes tailes to be brought into the Counting howse ev r y weeke upon pain of losing two weeks wags, as oft as he runneth in default thereof.

39. **Itm** that the Garnato r be before hand wth his wheate to be grounded at the mill and to be brought home, so that yt maie be two or three daies at the least in the pastry before yt be bouted, and well and trewly grounded for the most advantage of the howshold, or els to send for the miller, and to punishe hym for his evill lyving, or els to chainge hym.
40. **Itm** yt is ordained and appoynted, that there be in the backhowse a yoman and a grome, and that they make of ev r y busshell of wheate xxxij loves, wayeng ev r y lofe xxij onnces, And that they be ready to bake breade for horses, and that the braunne be alwaye reserved to thuse of my Lorde, Also that the said breade be wayed ...

(f.13v)

... in the Counting howse as oft as yt shalbe thought needfull, and yf the waight, or the past be not sufficient, then the trespassor be punished after theire defeaute.

41. **Itm** that the baker shall take by taile and waight of the Garnato r and of the miller, all such meale as is brought in by them into the Counting howse ev r y Saterdag And to see the taile of all suche bread as is by them deliv er ed into the Pantry brought ev r y weeke into the Counting howse, nor deliv er any brann wthout the ov er sight of an hedd Officer.
42. **Itm** that no branne be removed two daies after it is bouted, and every tyme of moulding to warne the Clerke of the kytchen to be there, or one for hym, and likewise one of the pantry.
43. **Itm** that they call diligently upon the Garnato r to send wheate to the miller, soe that it maie ly two or iij daies in the pastry at the least before yt be bouted, and aslong after before yt be moulded, and that in theire default my Lorde shall not be served wth hott breade, but that they have a batch before hand, and that no breade be brought owt of the back howse to the pantry in a sacke nor bagg but in a lepe, or baskett, and there softly to be laid into the bynne yf yt be hott.
44. **Itm** that the baker have redy bouted daily fine flower and basterd for the kytchen and pastry, and taile wth the Cooke at the deliv er y there of, and that taile to be brought into the Counting house ev r y weeke once.
45. **Itm** it is ordayned that the Panter receave no breade into the Pantry from the backhouse, or other place as breade brought but by taile and sight of an hedd Officer, and that taile to be brought ev r y weeke ende into the

Counting howse and entred And that one of the Officers be in the backhouse at moulding and waieng, and to call upon the baker aforesaid so that my Lord shall not be served wthout breade. Nor that ...

(f.14)

... the Panter sell any chippings, nor other things in his office wthout the oversight of an hedd Officer, or Clerke of the kytchen. And suche as shalbe thought by them fees not to be had to the alms baskett and pultry be served.

46. **Itm** that the Panters ordaine for al manner of fruites cheese, juncketts and other dainties according to the season of the yeaere by the ov er sight of the Clerke of the kytchyn, and to attend in their offices at all tymes convenient, or els certifie an hedd Officer where they be. And to see suerly to their Office, and that it be kept cleane, and also their knyves.
47. **Itm** it is ordained that the butlers of the Seller keepe cleane their office, and all suche wyne as be appoynted for my Lords drinking be reserved and kept suerly for his Lordship. And that no fees of wyne be ~~kept~~ made by them, nor other fees except yt be first seene by an hedd officer. And that they sett no hoopes on tonnes, pypes, hoggeshede, or any other vessels, but by their ov er sight, and that yt be forthwth entred, and diligently to take heede to their vesseilles and wyne, that in their negligence none be perished nor spilled, nor also keepe any eatinge, or drinkinge, nor communicacons in the Seller, wthout my Lords commanndem en t in that behalfe except yt be for a straunger for my Lords hono r, or that an hedd Officer be p re sent, as they will answere at their p er ill. And that they neither gyve, sell, nor convey any of my Lords wyne without the lycence, or commanndem en t of my Lorde upon paine of losing their office.
48. **Itm** that they take heede to all suche plate as is deliv er ed unto them, and to keepe yt cleane, and to deliver yt faire againe. And to attende upon their Officers, or els to assigne and shewe an hedd Officer where they shalbe had.
49. **Itm** that at the commyng of wyne bought or p re sented they send for an hedd Officer or clerke of the kytchyn to the intent the maie be seene full and hole gauged, and so forth entred into the booke of howshold of whose p ro vision or p re sentacon they be of.

(f.14v)

50. **Itm** that there be a vessell ordayned in the Seller for to put in broken wyne, and that vessell to be deliv er ed to the yoman of the Sawvery in tyme convenient, and asmuche therof to be made in vineger as shalbe thought needefull by the Clerke of the Kytchin, And as shalbe likewise thought needefull by the Clerke of the Kytchyn, wyne to be had into the kytchyn for Gellies, Pottage, and other subtilities. And that the butte of

malmesey and rum ney be saved for my Lord to carry booke and other things.

51. **Itm** yt is ordayned that the butlers of bere and ale keepe cleane theire Offices and sweete, And likewise theire potts cruysts and cuppes, and that they attend suerly to such plate and stuff as is deliv er ed to them, And that the neither take Ale nor beere into theire Offices but suche as shalbe appoynted in the counting house, nor bring in any newe brewer nor baker nor make any prises of beare or ale, nor potts, cupps nor cruises And they shall see that all suche vessells of ale and bere as cometh in, keepe full gaage, And that wthin three daies it maie be tasted, and suche thereof as is not good to be stopped up, and the p ar tie sent for to fetch yt home at his perrill.

52. **Itm** that the butler make no fees of ale, nor bere, but such as shalbe seene by an hedd Officer, before it be pyped, or barrelid, nor had owt of his Office wthout lycence of a hedd Officer, And y^f one at the least be alwaies readie in his Office, Orels to rectifie where he shalbe founde to an hedd officer, yf the huss her call for my Lorde, or strangers.

53. **Itm** it is ordained that the Ewrer be attendaunt in his Office, and keepe all his stuffe cleane and in due tyme at thofficers calling to be ready both for the Chamb er and the hall and to attend suerly to such plate, and all manner of stuffe as is deliv er ed them, and so to deliv er yt againe, And to deliv er no liv er ies of waxe, tallowe, or other thing, Ne to take any fees but such as shalbe appoynted in the Counting howse.

(f.15)

54. **Itm** that the Ewrer and Chaundler deliver his liv er ies at due howres assigned, and that there lack not in theire default, torches, torchetts, broch candells, Sises, Mortors, Quarriors, or any other things, and to come weekly ev er y weeke into the Countinghowse, and there to shewe what lights and other things have byn spent that weeke in there Office.

55. **Itm** it is ordayned that the Lavender washe for the Chappell hall and Chamber, and all other howses of Office, as oft as neede shalbe. And at the least two tymes in the weeke, And to wash no mans stuffe wth my Lords stuffe but suerly to keepe it and spend it as nede shall require And that no wast of woodd, coole, or any other things being in his Office be made, and that he take heede suerly to all suche clothes, as shalbe under his hande, and that they be not changed, brent, torne, nor rent in wassing, nor inging, pulling, or dryeng in his default.

56. **Itm** yt is Ordayned that all such Spices and fruyts, as shalbe p ro vided for my Lords howshold be deliv er ed unto the Clerke of the Spicery by waight and Indenture And that the said Clerke deliv er none of the said Spices nor fruyts but by waight, and the some thereof, and the daie written, and the p er sonnes name that receaved yt, And that he take heed daily to all such spices and fruytes receyved, for dyvers spices, and frutes

be tender, and need oft oversight. And weekly the expenses to be brought into the Counting howse and there entred.

57. **Itm** it is ordayned that the Cooks and Larderers trewly and sadly keepe the keyes of their Office, make trewe records of that w^{ch} they receave into the kytchin, or Larder of all vitails aswell butchers, as cators, and that it be tailed owt of hand, and that none of the pages, nor children be lodged owt of the howse, but wthin, that they maie have oversight, and gov er naunce of them.
- (f.15v)
58. **Itm** that ther be one of thoffice appointed to keepe the kytchen dore at breakfast, meales, and other tymes convenient, that there be no resort of strangers, or other in the Office.
59. **Itm** that the butchers and Larderers doe well and redily see to their Offices, And that their vitailles be seasonable kept, And also keepe all suche Statutes and ordinaunces as shall unto them be made and assigned, And also wth all diligence keepe the hedd Officers comaundement.
60. **Itm** that the Cooks and Larderers season their stuffe under their hands both of fleshe and fishe, and ev er y daie to come into the Counting howse to understand howe their Offices shalbe ordered the daie following, and yf any fault be done that daie in seasoning their fishe or fleshe to see it amended.
61. **Itm** that no Cooke or Larderer make any fees of fleshe or fishe, nor of any other thing, but such as shalbe appoynted in the Counting howse, nor deliv er any fleshe, rawe, rost sodden, or baken, to any p er sonne wthout lycence or knowledge of an hedd Officer, or clerke of the kytchyn, And also that they take not from the leade or pott any flottesse, but suche as shalbe first skommed of unto the tyme the fleshe be taken owt for dynner, And that all such as will have brewes be served, and that the flesh be so taken owt and smitten that yt maie be served hole into my Lords hall, And likewise all rost to be smitten out, and not pricked, brent, nor mangled.
62. **Itm** that the Cookes keepe my Lords privie kytchyn for his owne mouth, and his meate to be drest aparte holsomely and seasonably, and that in the default of suche stuffe as shalbe brought in, be no losse in the dressing, or seasoning but in the best wise they maie or cann, as the will answeere at their owne p er ill. And that they suffer no mann er of p er son of howshold ne stranger come into the p ri vie kytchyn, and in speciall nigh to my Lords vitail for his mouth.
- (f.16)
63. **Itm** that the Cookes and Pastillers taile wth the bakers for all such fyne flower and Basterd as they receave of them and that taile to be brought

into the Counting howse every weeke ende, And that they endevo r them selfe to make dyvers potagies, and dyvers bake meates, w^{ch} shalbe a greate saving of other meates and vituall, And also y^f they water nor stryke and manner of stockfishe or salt store nor breake up sea fyshe, or any other fresh water fyshe wthout the Clerke of the kytchyn be present. And enter the number of the messes that be apporcioned and assartayned.

64. **Itm** that the Cookes Larderers, Squillerers, Butchers, and Cators in like wise except Children of the Kytchyn, and Squillery keepe the saide hall at the later dynner, And the said Children to allowed them at ev er y meale two w^h hote loves, and bere, or ale at the discretion of the Clerke of the Kytchyn, And that all that remayneth of fleshe and fishe unserved to by had into the Larder ymediatly after dynner and supper be served, And the Larderer to be chardged wth all that yt be forth commyng, and to answere thereof to the Clerke of the Kytchin, at the perill of the said Larderer.

65. **Itm** it is ordayned that the Cator be a man of reason and of substaunce, and to have good knowledge in his Accates and season of the yere, And the said Cator to have a howse to laye in his p ro vision, and that he be at all tymes at the calling of the Clerke of the kytchen. And that he p ro vide no vitaill but such as shalbe good and wholesome for mens bodies, and the p ro vision to be made in season to the most p ro fitt of the Lord, And yf it be quicke stuff to be meated, and watered, and dressed according to the nature of yt, And yf it be perished in his default, he shall answere to yt at his p er ill.

(f.16v)

66. **Itm** it is ordayned that the Butchers daily attend upon their Office, and to keepe their Office cleane wthout savor might hurt, or noye any people, and to be two tymes a day at the least wth the Clerke of the Kytchen to understand what stuffe he shall kyll, And that they shall take no fees but such as shalbe appoynted unto them.

67. **Itm** that the said Butchers or one of them be appoynted to see all Oxen, Sheepe, Porkes, Bores, Veales, and Lammes p ro vided for and kept as oft as it shalbe thought needfull. And after the season of the yere to change and dryve them from place to place, and that they have speciall heede in dryving of them. So that the said vitaille, nor any p ar te of them be hurt in their default in hastye dryving as they will answere at their perrill. Nor that they suffer any cattaille in the Lords pastures saving only his owne.

68. **Itm** that they order and drye their fells and tallowe to the best of their power, and to the most advantage of the Lorde And trewly taile wth the tanners, and byers of the hides and fells as they deliver them, And at ev er y tyme they kyll any stuffe to shewe yt to the Clerke of the kytchyn, so that he maie be there, or his deputy to see the beast or beasts And the tallowe to be made up, And ev er y weekes ende to bring the taile of

theire Offices into the Counting house, And that the byer of the tallowe shall take the waight at v daies ende or vj at the farthest.

69. **Itm** yt is ordayned that a yoman of the Squillery, and in his absence the grome to have all such plate in their guyding and keeping as shall serve for the Lordes bourde, as Chargers, Dishes, Platters, Potagers, and Sawcers, And that they take surely heede of the said Plate upon their perill And that daily after dynner at convenient tyme and season to bring up the said plate into the Jewell howse or wardrop, and there to deliver yt to a yoman of the same, except such nights as shalbe thought for my Lords honor plate to be kepte to serve the Lord at his supper. And fowere tymes in the yere, to make a trewe accompt of the pewter vessell.
- (f.17)
70. **Itm** it is ordayned that a yoman, or grome of the Squillery, or sawcery in tyme of season of the yere gather crabbes, and stamp them and make of them Veriuis for the Lords howshold, And to prepare instruments therefore, And in likewise to make all other sawces throughout the yere, as musterd, vineger and veriuis, And also that the yoman and grome of the Squillery see daily and diligently to the Gathering and keeping of all the sylver plate and pewter, and that for lacke of gathering there be none stolen, broken, nor embesselled, nor that they have any owt of the gates, or to any chamber any of the said plates or vessell without speciall lycence of an hedd Officer upon paine of losing his Office, and that ever y daie tymely in the morning they resort to the kytchen to knowe what meate is ordeyned for my Lord to thintent they maie prepare sawce convenient for the same meate.
71. **Itm** it is ordained that the Lords Almnoure shall at ever y dynner and supper waight upon the Lord at his table when the Lorde dyneth and suppeth abroade, and there to take up ever y dishe whan the Lorde hath sett yt from hym, and thereof to make sufficiently, thalmes dishe, to be gyven to the most needy man and woman by his direction, Alwaies the Lords tenants to be preferred therein yf there be needy except suche disshes as shalbe sent from the Lorde to strangers of other of his howse at his pleasure. And the said Almonours to locke up the releves of breade, drinke and meate aswell of the chamber as of the hall, and diligently keepe yt from devouring of doggs. And to put it in a cleane vessell And truely to distribute at the gate, to poore people iij or iiij daies in the weeke by his discretion.
72. **Itm** it is ordeyned that the Avener shall suerly and diligently provide in season and tyme for the Lords haye lytter and provide, And also to see the hey of the Lords owne groundes and growing be well made, and surely to be moved and kept wthout unreasonable wast, and also at ever y place Locke and Keyes sufficient to be had, And that the Avener suffer no manner of man to spend and haye, or have any libtye in any place where

the Lords hay lyeth, save where the liv er y shalbe appoynted for y^e tyme, except such as shalbe appoynted by the Lord.

(f.17v)

- 73.** **Itm** that the said Avener see well and suerly to his otes and hay, and lytter, in everie place and at dyvers tymes, and that at his departing from every place he note wysely his haye and lytter, and to measure his otes to thentent he maie see and knowe at his commyng the suertie thereof, And yf at any place he finde any fault to serche yt owt, to the best of his power, and the same to shewe unto the Lord, or his Officers in the Counting howse for the further serving and reformation thereof.
- 74.** **Itm** that the said Avener p ro vide in due tyme and season for Otes and litter to the most behoofe and p ro fitt to the Lord, and that at every standing lyvery, every keeper ther that is allowes at the Lords bourd wagis, keepe well and trewly other mens horses that be to hym assigned as his owne masters v at the lest, and vj in tyme of neede, And yf any such bee that will not so doe diligently and effectually, The Avener, or yoman of the horse to enforme the hedd Officer thereof, and by their consent to put hym owt, and set an other in his stedd, as he will answeere to the Lord, and to ev er y other p ar tie that sendeth his horse to liv er y at his p er ill.
- 75.** **Itm** that the master of the horses, or in his absence the yoman bye no saddles, horse harnes, watering bridles, halters, regines, framells, pastrons, sursingles, girthes, bitts, colers, or any other stuffe wthout it be first shewed in the countinghowse and to have a byll therefore from an hedd Officer to the Sadler And that all such stuffe bought be well kept wthout any losse, wast, or destruction, And that the said M aster of the horses, or yoman make an accompte monethly in the Counting howse thereof, and that theie make no fees, but such as shalbe appoynted. And that the yoman of the horses see daily to the gov er naunce and sue r... keeping of the said horses and keeper, and that they be kept as they should be.
- 76.** **Itm** that the Avener monethly bring in all manner p ro vition and deliv er aunces into the Countinghowse to thentent that dew allowaunce maie be had according to their expenses And yf any thing lacke, or be misused to see yt reformed, And the Clerke of the kytchen to paie trewly the ryding wagis, And that no ...

(f.18)

... lyueries of wyne, bread, ale, nor bere be made owt of the hall or any office to the Stable, but by the oversight, and commaundement of of the said hedd Officers.

- 77.** **Itm** it is ordained that the yoman and gromes of the Wardrobe take heede diligently to all apparrell, Orras, tapestry, wollen, and lynnyn, and other stuff under their handes, so that in their default the Lords apparrell and

stuffe be not perished, nor hurt, but they so see yt brusshed spunged, and ayered ev er y weeke, or fortnight as it shalbe thought needfull.

- 78.** **Itm** that all such lynnens clothes as shalbe for the Lavendry, immediately after they be desoyled be sent to the said Lavendry and there to be delivered by a table, and not to be cast in corners, and so lost or forgotten, And in likewise quickly receyved againe from the Laundry and cleanly layed up wth sweete herbes in a chest iij or iiij daies at the lest before they be occupied.
- 79.** **Itm** it is that the harbingers for the tyme being shall assigne Lodgings and make herbage to ev er y p er sonne of the howshold after theire estate and degree, and ioyning theire Loldgings next to my Lords as theire Office and attendaunce requireth. And that no man of the said howshold p re sume to dislodge any mann, or take awaie lodgings, other then shalbe appointed by the said herbenger. And yf it so be that any of the said company be lodged, yet for reasonable causes and consideracons to be removed, and otherwise lodged as the cause shall require, alwaies fore seene that in the towne next the Lords Lodgings be reserved and kept reasonable lodgings for strangers, And yf any man presume to doe the contrary, or offend in any of these Ordinaunces, to be punished for the first offence, and to lose a monethes wags, and for the second tyme to be ymp ri sonned, and the third tyme to be put out of service.
- (f.18v)
- 80.** **Itm** it is ordeyned that no personne, or p er sonnes of howshold shall at any tyme depart the said howse whether it be the Lords business, or his owne, but that he first shall come to the countinghowse, or at the least to the Clerke Comptroller, and the Clerke Comptroller shall enter the daie and tyme of his departure, for that he maie have iust ordinarie allowaunce accordingly upon paine of losing the said allowaunce, yf he goe in the Lords busines, And yf he goe in his owne busines then he shall runne in further penaltie of the said statute.
- 81.** **Itm** it is ordayned that yf any p ar ticuler p er sonne, or p er sonnes of howshold be chardged by any hedd Officer to keepe any bookes for reformation of any thing concerning good order to be kept wth in the said howse. And yf it be not kept accordingly the said p er sonne, or p er sonnes being so negligent in the same shall runne in like penaltie, and have like punishment as they ought to have w^{ch} shall offend in the said order.
- 82.** **Itm** it is ordeyned that no manner of p er sonne receyved by the said Lord into his service shalbe sett in the hall as my Lords servaunt unto such tyme as he shalbe admitted in the Countinghowse, and there have taken his othe, and also the statutes, redd unto hym.
- 83.** **The penaltie** of all the Statutes. First by discreete warning. The next dischardge hym the howse with his horse yf he have any for vij daies. The

third warning to discharge hym likewise for xiiij daies, And at the fowrth tyme to deliver hym his wagis and put hym cleane owt of service.

(f.18 - *Unnumbered folio*)

The Office of the Steward

84. **First** that he ought to make p ro vision of all manno r of grosse Emptions for the howshold, and at such tymes and seasons of the yere as shalbe most most for the Lords p ro fitt yf it be beeffs, Beeffetts, or muttuns, to see that they be well pastured, so that they decaye not for lacke thereof. And yf it be other grosse Emptions, to see it brought into such store howses as is apoynted for the same.
85. **Itm** that he ought to deliver money by Indenture to the Caters and Slaughtermen, to buy and make such p ro vision as they shalbe charged with, so that they maie have ready money to discharge all suche emptions as shalbe by them bought, and not to take vitaille of credaunce, for by reason thereof the Lords runneth not onely into great infamy and sclaunder, but also thereby susteyneth greate losse.
86. **Itm** that he ought from tyme to tyme to consult and counsaill wth the Comptrole and Clerke of the Kytchen concerning such p ro vision as he is chardged to make to thintent that alwaies the same p ro vision maie be made in due season and most for the Lords profit.
87. **Itm** that he ought to p ro vide almauner of stuffe requisite, and necessarie for the Lord and his howse and deliv er the same by Indenture to such p er sons as ought to be chardged therewth. And further that he ought ev er y halfe yere, orels at the lest ev er y yere to veiwe the same stuffe by the said Indenture not only to see that the said stuffe be in their Custody who hathe the chardge thereof, but also that it be well and substancially kept.

(f.18 v – *Unnumbered folio*)

88. **Itm** he ought to paye all manner of chardges ordinary, and without ordinarie, as maie appeare unto hym due to any p er sonn or p er sonnes aswell that w^{ch} is assigned by the hands of the Comptroller as also that w^{ch} is his owne p ro vision and other.
89. **Itm** that he with the Comptroller and other the Lords counsaill ought to make Ordinary dictories, and other ordinary allowances to every p er sonne being wth in the Lords chekerolle for that every such p er sonne maie knowe what allowance he ought to have by the said Ordinary, and that no such dictory or ordinary be broken, wthout his advice and knowledge.
90. **Itm** that he ought ymmediatly after the Lord hath admitted any Chapleyne, gentleman p ar ticular, or grome into his service, the Lords

pleasure therein knowen to call them into the Counting howse, and there gyve them their chardge, And further declare unto them suche statutes as he shall thinke meete and convenient for them to knowe, to thintent that suche p^{er} sonnes maie well observe and keepe them. And that done to notice unto them what ordinary allowaunce theie shall have, Aswell in wags and lyuery as in dyet, wood candel and lodging, and also iournieng by the Lords commaundement And carriage at suche tymes as the Lord removeth his howshold c. And yf the Comptroler be not there p^{rese}nt, then the Steward ought at tyme convenient to declare unto the said Comptroler what he hath donne therein, for that he maie not onely see the said p^{er} sonnes doe their duties in suche service as they maie be appoynted unto, but also that they maie willingly have all suche ordinary allowaunces as they ought to be allowed of.

- 91.** **Item** he shall keepe all manner of Inventories aswell of the Lords Wardrobe as other, and when any newe is bought to see it entred into the same.

(f.19)

- 92.** **Item** that he ought not to send no manner of p^{er} sonn aboute the Lords busines nor lycence no man to depart the Lords howse, but that he shall comaunde the same forthwth to resort to the Comptroler and make hym p^{ri}vy of his going, not onely for that the ordinary maie be so muche abated, but also that the said Comptroler maie mark in his ledgier the daie and tyme of his going forthe, to thintent that at his comyng againe, yf he have bynn in the Lords busines to gyve allowance accordingly.

- 93.** **Item** that he ought to aid and assist the Comptroler in all things w^{ch} he shall doe concerning the keeping of all manner of Statutes, ordinaunces, and good rules in the said howse. And further at all tymes, at the request of the said Comptroler when any thing is to be reformed, shall come wth the Comptroller to the Counting howse there to put in execution suche statutes and for the good order of the Lords howse is ordeyned and made c. And also yf he hym selfe p^{er} ceave any wast made in the said howse, or any thing as owt of order contrary to the Statutes of the same howse, then he ought forthwith to call a Counting howse for reformacon thereof.

The Office of Comptroler

- 94.** **First** that he ought to viewe and see all suche grosse p^{ro}visions as shalbe made by the Steward to thintent not onely the pryces thereof be reasonable but also that it be good and serviseable for the Lords howshold, yf it be not, forth wth disallowe the same that other p^{ro}vision maie be made in due season, So that the Lord shall not be unserved And that done to chardge ever y other Officer w^{ch} ought to be chardged ...

(f.19v)

... wth the same p ro vision to see it safely kept to the Lords use And yf any default be found in keeping, or ordering the said p ro vision, the Officers being founde in such default to paye for the same.

95. **Itm** that he ought daily to viewe all manner of vitail brought into the Larder by the Catours and Slaughtermen, and to see that yt be good, servisable and holson for mannes bodye, and the prices reasonable And also the cutting owt thereof That done to assigne their books for their allowaunces of the same, and yf any default be founde in keeping ordering, dressing seasoning, or yssuing of the same untill the Larderer or other Officers, or Cooks appoynted for that purpose shall paye for the said vitails so negligently or ~~willingly~~ wilfully lost.
 96. **Itm** that he ought to gage all the ale, beere, and wyne brought into the said howse, And also see or cause to be seene all other things, w^{ch} is bought by waight and measure, measured, and wayed for that the Lord should take no losse thereby. And further he ought ev er y daie once to be in ev er y Office wth in the said howse to see thordering and keeping of the same And yf any default be found to call them into the Counting howse and to see them punished according to their defaults.
 97. **Itm** that he ought after an ordinarie is appoynted to comaund and also see ev er y p ar ticuler Officer to followe the same Ordinarie, and to gyve ev er y man willingly, lyke allowaunces as they be allowed in the same Ordinary, and not aboue except he be further comaunded by the Lorde, the Steward, or the said Comptroler.
 98. **Itm** that he ought to see that no p ar ticuler Officer shall plant or appoynt any other man to serve or keepe his Office for their owne ease, and otherwise: for by reason of suche meanes ev er y Office wth in the said howse is disordered from the said Ordinarie.
- (f.20)
99. **Itm** that the Steward and he, or one of them at the least ought to be twice a weeke in the Counting howse and call before them, or one of them at the least all the Officers of the howshold, and there straightly chardge them to be of honest conversation, trew and diligent in their Offices, to the most hono r and p ro fitt of the Lord, and further to see daily all manner of by reason where of yt maie appeare unto hym yf any wast hath bynn made in the said Offices, whereupon he ought to monishe them of their defaults that the said Officer maie amend the same And yf he amend yt not, then he ought to rectifie the Lord of his default, And so the Steward and hee to put the said Officer from his office.
 100. **Itm** that the Steward and hee, or one of them, ought yf any other howshold servaunt doe not their duties in such service as they be appoynted unto. Or do breake any of the said statutes, or Ordinaunces w^{ch} is made for the keeping of good rule and Order of the said howse, To call them to the Counting howse, and there examyn them of their defaults

and trespass, and that neither for feare, nor for love, neither for old service nor for newe any trespass be favoured but punished according to there trespasse, now that they or any other hedd Officer take p ar t nor favo r any manner of p er sonne of howshold, more one then an other in that behalfe.

101. **Itm** that he ought to keepe a greate Legeir, wherein he should note any bill of payments that passeth his hands by assigment, because no doble allowaunce should be gyven, And in the said booke he ought to note ev er y p er sonne put forth on the Lords busines, or otherwise Lycensed, the daie and tyme of their dep ar ting forth of the said howse, for that at their comyng againe he maie give them allowaunce accordingly.
102. **Itm** that he ouhgt at ev er y remove to see, or cause to be sene that no man have carriage wth the Lords stuffe, And at his chardge no more then he, or they be allowed in their ordinary.

(f.20v)
103. **Itm** that he record all grosse emptions bought aswell by Steward, as by other to the Lords use.
104. **Itm** to record all monitions gyven to any p er son wth in my Lords howshold for reformation to be had in the same.
105. **Itm** he shall suffer no horsse to be at the Lords chardge wth in the howse, nor wth out, except suche as be allowed by the Lords Chequere rolle, or lycensed by the hed Officer.
106. **Itm** he shall monethly take rekonynge of the Stable and Courtroll, as neede shall require.
107. **Itm** he shall keepe the Lords Chequere rolle and his Statutes, And shall enter into the said Rolle ev er y servannt receyved by my Lord, And also shall reade unto hym such Statutes as be meete for hym to knowe before he be sett in the hall as my Lords servannt.
108. **Itm** that the Clerke of the Kytchin come daily into the kytchyn in the morning earely, and appointethe Cator what to bring in for p ro vision, and to appointe the Cooks what, and how much to dresse according to the rate of the howshold, so to be knowen of the Comptroler or Ussher of the hall.
109. **Itm** that he doe see the Lords service orderly served owte ... the dresser, and to followe the said service tyll yt be served downe And that such meate as remaine unserved to be safely kept by the Larderer, or at his owne hand, And so be served at other meales, Against the w^{ch} meales, lesse to be p re pared.

(f.21)

The assise of fees in all // Offices in the howshold

Garnato[r]	Nothing	110.
Bakehous	Cooles, Asshes, and nothing ells	111.
Pantry	That the loves and trenchers be cut as large as the lofe will gyve, and that no lofe be rounded or pared except for my Lords bourd, all looves to be chipped, and no fees to be taken in that office saving onely chippings, and cuttings of the loves and trenchers.	112.
Celler	Itm no fees to be taken unto the Office but furnished of empty pipes, hoggeshedds, fatts runletts, the remnaunt of the feoble, Also as for broken wyne and lyes none tp be had, but kept for vineger.	113.
Buttry		114.
Ewery & Chaundry		115.
Lawndrie		116.
(f.21v) <i>BLANK</i>		
(f.22)		
Spicery	No Fees to be had except emptie potts of Greene ginger, succad baggs, and boxes.	117.
Wardrobe	Itm	118.
Almery	Itm	119.

Kytchyn & Larder	Itm no Fees to be had of great scomming of the leade, tyll my Lords howshold be served sufficiently as brewis, fryeng and basting. Empty barrels of herrings Sturgion, Salt salmon, salt eles Conger, Seale, by the oversight of the hed Officers and Clerke of the Kytchyn to be feeable. Also feathers of the wild foule, or tame, to be feeable Also all Connye Skynnes that cometh of p re sents or of my Lords owne to be feeable.	120.
Catrye	Itm other Cony Skynnes bought, and also that shall serve for my Lords mouth to be feeable. The Cator ro have them all, Also pannyers of seafishe to be feeable. And these fees to be distribu ted amongst the yomen, gromes, and pages.	121.
(f.22v)		
Butchery	Itm no fees of the Oxe more then the sticking peece, the hedd, and gutts, leaving the Chyne sufficiently fleshed and hole, and that he bring in every tyme of the yere, the tonge of the oxe And from Alhollantid to Shrovetide the tripes ready wasshed, And ev er y sheepe to be brought in hole except the hedd, and the panche, w ^{ch} be fees, And from Alhallontide to Shroftyde the Intrailes of the sheepe ev er y mondaie and wensdaie. And as for Calves Lames and Porks, to be brought in hole w th out ffee all tymes of the yeare.	122.
Squillery & Sawcery	Itm no Fees to be had except the garbage of Swannes the Chalderne made sufficiently.	123.
The hall	Itm	124.
Porters	Itm no Fees to be had of any howshold man or ffermer comytted to ward by my Lords commaun dement, or by any hed officer.	125.
Clerk of the Kitchyn	Itm that he take no Fees except Calves skynnes and Lams skynnes.	126.

(ff.23-26v – *ALL BLANK*)

(f.27) *New hand*

Margin For the great Chamber

Orders and ordinances for the
Governem^t of my house and family
at

1. Inp'
That the Groomes of the great Chamber who shall be the wardrobers, or one of y^m, whose day it shall be to waite doe dress up the s^ai^d Chambers placing all thinges in good order by 7 of the clock every morning.
2. That one of those Groomes whose day it shall be to waite or his fellow for him in his absence, doe every morning halfe an house *sic* after Ten of the Clock ring the bell to prayers, make readie for them, either in the Chappell, great Chamber, or such other places as shall be designed for y^t purpose.
3. Whosoever of the s^er^vants shall be absent from prayers, not being able to render a just and necessary reason for it, shall seeke his dinner y^t day w^{thout} exception or respect of p^er^sons ~~or pay~~.
4. That prayers being said the usher of the hall shall call immediately to cover when he y^t is to serve for sewer that day shall come up before the butler, who is to carry his covering linnen, and y^t in this s^er^vice those Gentlemen who shall be that day to accompany the sewer at the second dinner, doe likewise accompanie him in y^t service, together wth that yeoman who shall be appointed to be Cupboard Keeper, and the groomes of y^e s^ai^d Chamber.
5. That at the carryng up of plate, the sewer for the day carry up the salt, according to the ancient forme of this house, accompanied as before, the like forme to be used in y^e carryng up of candles in candle time, provided y^t if upon any just occation, the sewer shall be out of the way, his place be supplied by one of the other Gentlemen, who are to accompany him.
6. That noe yeoman come up to waite in the great Chamber but such as shall be appointed, and those to waite below the salt to doe ther s^er^vices there, and not above the salt, y^t while they attend both the Gentlemen they doe diligently and carefully observe the necessary s^er^vice of the table, the directions of y^e sewer.

(f.27v)

7. That at the rising at the boords end the Cupboard Keeper gather ther napkins who sitt at it and accompt for them to the Butler.

8. That at the taking away of the voyder the chiefe butler be p re sent himselfe to gather up those napkins w^{ch} are left in ther handes, who sit to the last, and to take the salt of the table, and if he be necessarily absent, then the Cupboard Keeper to supply his place.
9. That ther be ever three to hold the candles in candle time when water shall be to be set on the board.
10. That the sewer continue his good custome to see all the meat caryed cleane away, out of the great Chamber, before he goe himselfe downe to dynner, and y^t noe meat be set upon the waiters table, before the sewer shall be set in his place.
11. That noe napkins be allowed to any but to the sewer, the Carver, the Cupboard Keeper, and the six allowed to the Gent le m en below.
12. That ther ^{be} ever one groome p re sent after the takeing away of the voyder, whose day it shall be to wait, to set stooles in order, and to sweep the roome, when all shall be risen from the boarde as ther shall be cause, and he to dyne wth the usher of the hall that day and when it shall ^{be} time for him to dyne, to be then relieved by one of his fellowes who must supply his place, untill he have dynd, then he to retorne and attend all his day, either in the great chamber or Parlour, where he may be readie to answere all calls, and if ther be any cause for his absence, one of his fellowes to waite for him.

For the Parlour or Roome where y^e Stewards table is

1. That the great Chamber being covered, such yeomen, groomes and footmen, as are not admitted to waite above in the great Chamber, doe accompany the under Buttlr, to carry co- vering and plaite in the Parlour or such roome as above s ai d.
 2. That a yeoman doe over carry in the first dish thither accompanied wth as many of the s ai d yeomen, groomes, footmen, as shall be competent for y^t service.
- (f.28)
3. That A B or who soever shall be in his ^{stead} doe decently attend upon the Cupboard, to give drinke, and be accomptable to the butler after dinner for the Lynnen and plate there used, w^{ch} shall be orderly carryed out as it was carryed in.
 4. That he looke to the making of fares *sic – fires?*, there in meet weather, and that he keepe the same cleane, and set stooles in order, both before the coming into it, and after every meale before he dyne himselfe, w^{ch} must ever be with the usher of the Hall, to whom he must be aiding in his s er vice in the Hall, all the waiters meale times onely if ther be cause, together wth other as by the steward shall be thought meet.

5. That diligent and orderly attendance be given upon y^t table during ther meale time, and with respect.
6. That the waiters both in the great Chamber who dyne nott and the stewards table and those in the Parlour doe meale together, except those who are p ar ticularly appoynted to meale wth the usher.
7. That they who wype trenchers be p ro vided of whips, to keepe out doges, and y^t they be sure when they goe ther ways to leave ther places cleane behind them.

For the Hall

1. Inp' that the usher of the hall looke to have his Hall every mor- ning cleane swept, and be carefull to keepe it so all day, so much as conveniently may be.
2. That im m ediately after prayers every day before noon he call to the carrying of covering plate and meat, and every evening for y^e carrying of light in due season, and for supper the like as for dynner, and y^t through the Hall he cause place to be made for the caryers of them, and usher them.
3. That the great Chamber being covered he see the Hall boord covered.
4. That he suffer none to play or stay in the Hall during prayer time, but y^t he will them to resort unto it, and if any shall refuse so to doe, that he informe the steward to take ord er in it.
5. That he suffer noe imp er tinent p er son, or unmeet to hanker reheat in the Hall, or about the house at meale times, nor any uch to sitt or eat, att any table ther e . And y^t such as shall be ...

(f.28v)

... meet and so judged by the discretion of the steward, be by the discretion of the s ai d usher decently placed, wher it shall be meet for him to sitt civilly used, during his abode in the house.

6. That he se after every dynner in the Hall, the Almes basket filled wth the remainder of every table, and y^t the covering being delevered againe into the Buttery, he see the poore well dewly and equally served att the gate wth such discretion in the dis- tribution, as some shall not have all, and some never a whitt.

For the Buttery

1. Inp' That the butler or under butler be not out of the butterey // from 8 of the clock in the morning untill 9, nor from 3 of the clock in the afternoon

untill 4 but that one of them be ever p re sent there, to serve all liveries, and to answere all calls and when they shall be out of the way and other time of the day that word be left by them wth the porter w^{ell} where one of them will be found wth the key if any extraordinary occasion should require there p re sence.

2. That the plate and linnen for covering wth in the charge of the butterey, be ever ready to be carryed up at the times that the usher of the Hall shall call.
3. That ^{none} be p er mitted to goe into the cellar to drinke or give entertainm en t there to strangers, but by speciall appointment.
4. That none of the family but those who serve in the condic i on and title of Gent. be admitted to come into the Butterey and those to have lib er tie to come in themselves to bring in ther frinds and stangers of like qualitie, where they shall be civilly used during their abode there, they demeaning themselves discreetly, but for the time manner of there stay.
5. That those who serve in the condic i on and title of yeomen under doe drinke themselves at the Barr and there entertaine there frinds wth discretion civillity.
6. That all allowances be dewly delevered wthout dininution and that ^{ther} be such discretion used, that a just moderac i on may be observed betwixt the excesses of misirie ryott.

(f.29)

7. That when there shall be strangers Lodged in the house there be Liveries p re pared for there Chambers in due tyme according to their qualities.
8. That whn there be any strangers of sorts in any time of the day to be made drinke after the solemne fashion of enter- tain me nt of such who lodge not that then the Butler be readie upon warning by a Groome of the Chamber, to have potts with glasses bread napkins, to send beare wine over of two sort es to them, w^{ch} is to be carrey by the Gentlemen yeomen then in the house after a decent order, and they to be likewise sum m oned to theire attendanc es by a Groome of the Chamber.
9. That the s er vant es of all such strangers shall be entertained in the butterie, or at the Barr, according to the rule of distinctions amongst my owne servants.
10. That myself being gone to bed all Liveries served y^t the Butler p er mitt none to stay in the butterey nor the Usher of the Hall p er mitt any to stay in the Hall, but that they make the fa- milyes resort to theire Chambers.
11. That at night after the great Chamber parlour are voyded the butler to call upon the Groomes of the Chamber, for the Candles ends, and such as

shall not be burnt out to take and secure to the s er vants for to light them to bed and to suffer none for fees.

12. That att the carrying up of liveries there be ever one Gentlema n to assist et, for the more honour of the house, the rest to be p er formed by yeomen and Groomes.
13. That there be no fees taken in the Buttery or cellar, either of Chipping before the maid be served for her Pullen, if there be any, the Faulcons boy for his Spaniells, when there be any to be fed or of broken beere before such uses as are to be served about the house be first furnished, not of Candles Ends, and wine vessells before they have beene first vewed allowed by the steward.
14. That all the allowances out of that offic es being justly p er formed, all surplus of expenc es be daily breeved that it ...

(f.29v)

... may be truly discerned, who takes upon them to com m aund y^t are not allowed and wth what discretion they use their com m aunds who have them allowed.

For the Kitchen

1. That fyres be there made in due time put out in due time, according to the aunsient custome of the house.
2. That no fees be taken but of Gray Connie skins, and 1^d the peece on black Connie skins, such other skins, as by the custome of the house have been formerly allowed.
3. That the under Cook es doe looke y^t the Kitchen boy do day- ly try up the kitchin stuffe p re serve all tallow suet that comes into the Kitchin or Larders and account for the same to the steward, and the like for the feathers.
4. That at the serving out of meate, they suffer none to be in the Kitchen, but such to whom it belongs, to p er forme some offic es that belongs to the said servic es .
5. That there be noe Layterers Rehaters or Charefolkes cherished there.
6. That there be noe breakfaste given out there, but unto such to whom it shall be especially allowed.
7. That for all other thinges, they depend upon the direc- tion of the steward.

For the Bakehouse

1. That the bread keep the same number, bigness, weight fineness for all the sort es , of a bushell of wheat, as formerly it hath beene used to doe in this house.
2. That noe Fees be taken of any bran, but y^t the maid be first served for Poultrie the bayliffe for swine, the stable bread furnished if any be for the surplus that it be sou ld?? and accompted for, and that noe bran be allowed for bra ... before the steward have first viewed examined allowed it.

(f.30)

For the Brewhouse

1. That the Brewer full fill his allowance of 14^{EE} out of 4^{qtrs} of mault 2 bushells of oates and and j bushell of wheat, observing the strengh, goodness, quickness it now hath.
2. That no fees be taken of yeast, before the baker be first supplied for his use, nor of graines before y^e bay- liff poultrie maid be p ro vided for poultrie and swine.

For the Stabl es

1. That the Gentleman of the horse be acknowledged to have com m aund in Gen eral of the whole charge of the stable and stablers, an in his absence, the yeoman of the horses.
2. That nothing in that office be reputed, or take for fees, but all thinges there to depend on my owne will to distribute and dispose of att pleasure.
3. That no moni es be disbursed in that office, but by the Gentleman of the Horse or yeoman, and that all demaunds by any other be vouched warranted under one of their hands.
4. That nothing be called for by any of the Groomes, but by the consent and privitie of one of the former.
5. That the footmen doe understand themselves to be principally p ar t of the Regiment of the Gentlem an of y^e horse and within the house at the stewards, and as there shall be cause to send on errands at the com m aund of y^e secretary.
6. That noe allowances be exceeded in the stable, neither that there be any purloyning of provender, and y^t that there be in the begin- ning of every weeke a note brought me, of the house horses to make their allowances

certaine, at the end of the weeke an account what the expense hath beene, for every surplus a reason to be rendered in the same account.

7. That noe Rehators be permitted about the stable, under colour of helping the Groomes, nor doggs to be kept there by them unless by appoyntment.

(f.30v)

And: That none in any place expect fees of any, save other such as are above particularly specified, but content themselves with the wages they contract for, and for their reward to depend upon my bounty, to consider of the merit of their services.

That all in Generall particular doe bear respect to the steward regarding observing his Directions in all things concerning the service of the house. And that he likewise carry himself discreetly and respectively towards the servant es againe temperatly directing moderately reproveing those of the better sort, as there shall be cause, and towards the inferior sort according to the difference in persons, and likelihood of differences in fault es with more quickness, reserving ever to my selfe the consideracion of their offences upon Informacion in cases that may concern the discharging of their services.

As there shall be further occasion upon further consideracion alteration addition to be made to these, but in meantime these articles to be observed.

And: That whensoever I am absent there be made abatement of ordinary allowances in all those offices, from whence I carry with me any of those persons who have interest in those allowances Ratable.

For ordering and disposing of an estate or Retenue and the officers therein to be employed, for improvment of the same. I shall not at all mention, but referre it to a Booke in print set forth by Thomas Clay surveyor student in the mathematickes, second edition printed in the yeire 1622 wher you will finde A Chronologicall *sic* discourse, of the well ordering, disposing governing of an honourable estate and Revenue and the duty of the severall officers necessary to be used therein, which I would have you inquire of at the stationers I have it bound with another booke, but it is to be had distinct.

(f.31) *New hand*

Orders for my House Esc:

Officers

- J. Watsoever any Officers doe either severally in y^e punishment of lesser faults or ioyntly in greater shalbe made good, and their authority upheld.
2. My Officers shall acquaint me wth such Accidents as may happen in my House y^t I may take p^resent care, and y^e best I can to helpe and redress anything y^t shalbe amisse.

Prayers

- J. Morning Prayers shall allwayes begin whether I be in y^e House or noe, at 10. of the Clocke, and Evning Prayers at halfe an hower past 3. unless in some speciall occasions, where I give other order.
2. None shall presume to be absent from Prayers unless he be sicke, or abroad in Attendance of me and my Service.
3. Besides other times upon occasion there shalbe a Generall Comunion, and a Sermon, and every servant in my House receive at Cstmasse, Easter, and Whitsontyde, at y^e least.

Servants

- J. Noe Gent: or other servant whatsoever shall p^resume to goe out of Towne upon any pretence of his owne busynesse wthout leave had from one of my Officers at least.
2. Noe man shall lye out of the House under any pretence whatsoever, unless he remove for Attendance in Sicknes, or be a servant y^t is married, and lyes att his owne Home.
3. Noe man shall lye out of his owne Chamber, to w^{ch} he is assigned wthout leave.

(f.31v)

4. Noe man shall have meate to his Chamber upon any p^retense but only in case of Sicknes.
5. My Supper hower shalbe constantly at 7. Winter and Summer at w^{ch} time all servants shalbe wthin for Attendance, and afetr Supper noe man shall go out unless it be by speciall leave from one of my Officers, and then to be wthin y^e Gates by nyne.

6. The Porters shall shutt upp y^e Gates in Winter by nyne, and in Summer by halfe and hower after.
7. Noe man to have Fyer in his Chamber of my Allowance but my Officers, except in case of Sicknes.
8. There shalbe a Common Fyer in y^e Hall from Allhallon Eve till Candlemasse, and after at y^e direction of the Officers.
9. Noe man under any pretence whatsoever shall provoke and of his Fellowes, any Stranger, to drinke, neither shall y^e Buttlers, Pantlers c. admitt men in y^e Cellars, or other Offices to drinke but at y^e dores.
10. My Officers shall spare noe servant, especially in y^e case of Quarrelling, and Drunkennes, y^t my House may be quyett and sober.
11. There shalbe noe resort to y^e Porters Lodge, nor noe Game used there but ... whatever is, and y^t at Cstmasse time only shalbe open in y^e Hall y^t my Officers may keepe it in order.
12. There shalbe a Payer of moveable Buttes for such as are willing to shoot sett upp in y^e Greene before y^e dore.
13. Noe servant shall keepe any Horse at my charge but onely my Officers.
14. Noe servant shall ^{keepe} any Dogg or Hawke within my House.
15. Noe servant shall marry wthout speciall lycense from myself.
16. The 4. w^{ch} attend in my Chamber shall wayte by 2. a weeke and their Fellowes supplye their Turnes in case of absence or busynes.
17. The Gent: ushers shall wayte by weekes, and one supply for y^e other in like manner.
18. All my servants according to y^e Custome of y^t House shall have their Ta wny?? Lyveryes for Summer, and their Blacke Lyveries for Winter y^t they may be ready to attend at Consecrac i ons, and other solemnities in them. And man shall receive money for his Lyverye y^e yeare, nor after y^e first yeare, unless he can sh ow?? my Officers y^t he hath kept his former Lyverye fayre and fitt for my service.
19. Noe man shalbe allowed to keepe a Servant but my 3 Officers, the Chaplaines, my Secretary, and 2 Gent: ushers according to ancient custome.
20. Noe man shall take any idle person out of y^e Towne or from else where to make his?? Bedd, or keepe his Chamber, and specially noe woeman, but shall use such inferior Servants of y^e House as may best fitt him.

21. Noe Laundresses shalbe admitted to come into y^e House wth Clothes farther then the Porters Lodge.

That a Gent: usher, and all Gent: amd yeomen ofe y^e Chamber be daily attendant in the Great Chamber by 8. ofe y^e Clocke in y^e morninge and shall doe what y^e Officers, or Gent: usher shall appoint to be done by them, as Sewers, Carvers, c.

(f.32)

23. The Usher and Almoner ofe y^e Hall shalbe there likewise by 8. of the Clocke in y^e morninge, and see y^t y^e Yeomen give such attendanc es as is fitt all y^e daye.
24. Noe Wine Cellar men shall send any wine to any table except the Stewards wthout direction from y^e Officers c.

Consecrations

- J. Noe Gent: or other servant whatsoever shall have power to bring any stranger to Consecrac i ons, or other solemnityes wthout y^e consent of all my Officers present.
2. None shall presume to carry or send at such times, or any other, any dish, or dishes, to their Chambers, or otherwise.
3. Some shall allwayes be assigned at those times to see By Dores shutt, and to attend y^e Service as it comes upp. c.
4. Att all times of Consecrac i ons and other solempne Entertheynments the Lo r ds the B isho pps servants y^t are present (save one for attendance of theire persons, whoe shall dyne wth y^e rest of y^e wayters) shall all dyne together at some conveyent table assigned by my Officers.
5. The Porters shall at all times keepe y^e Gates dilligently, but especially at times of Consecrac i ons and Entertheynments, at w^{ch} time if any Officers thinke meet, they shall have an assistant or twoe assigned them, and they shall lett noe man in, but such as have knowne relac i on to y^e present busynesse.
6. The Usher of y^e Hall att all such times shall walke wth a staffe, and suffer noe man to take his seate att any Table, or medle wth Bread, or any thinge sett thereon till y^e time of the Generall sitting downe.

(f.32v)

My L or ds owne Orders for the gov ern ment of the House.

Note: the folios that comprise this part of the manuscript (ff. 31-32) are folded in eight parts and the above corresponds to the fold lines.

(f.33) *New hand*

The Porter

1. The Porter is to give speedy notice to y^e usher of y^e Hall, when anie p^er son of qualitie comes to attend my Lord, who is to give notice to the Gentleman Usher, other Servants in y^e house, that they may bee in readynes to give their attendance. whoe are to waite without, till their returne, that they may pay their respects to them.
2. The Porter is strictly to observe, so soone as they knock to the Dressar (at y^e Bell ringing (w^hi ch is appointed for that purpose) hee shall immediately lock up the gates, and bring in the Keys, where they shall bee placed in the sight of the Steward, and y^e rest of the Staff Officers, not to p^er mit anie to enter duringe meale times, unles he have particular order from some of y^e Staff Officers soe to doe.
3. The Porters are to take speciall care, not to let in neare meale times anie p^er sons, but those whome he knoweth to be friends of my Lords, or have speciall bussines giving civill answeares to all suitors, informing them, that after meale times they may be hearde.

New hand

4. The is strickly to acquaint all the servants of y^e howse that they shall come Into the Howse by nine of y^e Clock att night and if any shall bee absent after that time unlesse good cause be shoven for their absence the Porter shall lock them out that night and in y^e morning shall give y^e staffe officers.

Jo: Boys
John Pory
Tho: Heath

(ff.33v-34 – *Blank*)
(f.34v)

The Porters Orders // that were given him // in Arch: BP Juxons' // time.
1663.

Note: the folios that comprise this part of the manuscript (ff. 33-34) are folded in eight parts and the above corresponds to the fold lines.

(f.35) *New hand*

**Orders to be observed for y^e Groom[es] // of y^e House & Family of y^e
sic**

For y^e Gentleman of y^e Chamber

1. The Groom of y^e Great Chamber is to look to y^e dressing of sayd Chamber placing all things in goof Order, y^s to be donne every morning by 7 of y^e Clock.
2. The sayd Groom is every day as soone as y^e Clerck of y^e Chappill rings y^e Bell to prayers at 10. in y^e Foorenoon, 4. in y^e afternoone, to make ready y^e great Chamber, to lay y^e Cusshions while prayers are sayd y^{re}, and after y^e Chappell is ready, y^e Clerck of y^e Chappell is to receive his Directions from one of y^e Chappellains y^t waytes, how to order y^e Chappell against times of Prayer, such other Service as his Grace y^e L^d Arch BP appoints.
3. Whosoever of y^e Servants shall be abs ent from Prayers, not being able to render a just necessary reason for it, if a Gentleman he shall pay one Shilling, if of Degree of Yeoman 6^d y^{ese} penalties shall be duely collected by y^e Groom of y^e great Chamber, or Clerck of y^e Chappell, pay d over to y^e Steward for y^e use of y^e Poor.
4. That Prayers being ended, y^e Ussher of y^e Hall shall immediately call to cover y^e Table, he y^t is appointed for Sewer that Day, shall come up before y^e Butler, whoe is to carry y^e Covering Linnen, y^e Yeoman of y^e Winesellar whoe shall be appointed Cubbard Keeper, shall attend y^e Covering of y^e Table, placing of y^e Glasses, y^e Buttler is to see y^e Plate handsomely placed ranked on any side Table in y^e great Chamber.
5. Noe woman is to come up through y^e great Chamber but such as shall be appointed, those to wayt below y^e Salt doe theyr service y^{re}, not above, y^t they all y^t wayt doe observe y^e necessary service of y^e Table.
6. That at rising of y^e Boord, y^e Cupbord Keeper gather the Napkins accompt for y^m to y^e Butler, at y^e taking away of y^e voider, y^e Butler be pres ent himself to gather up Napkins w^{ch} are left in y^e hands who sitt to y^e last, to ... y^e Salt oft y^e Table, if he be necessarily abs ent, y^e Cup- bord Keep er is to supply y^t Place.
7. That y^e Sewer see all y^e meat carryed clean away out of the great Chamber or Dining Room, before he goe himself downe to Dinner.

(f.35v)

8. That y^e Groom of y^e Chamber be alway ready after taking away of y^e Voyder, to sett Chayres Stooles in Order, to sweep the Room when

all shall be risen from y^e Board, after Din- ner to repayr to his wayting above, where he may be ready to answer all calls.

9. The great Chamb er being covered for his Grace, such Yeo- men Grooms Footmen, as are not admitted to wayt on his Grace are to accompany him y^e officiales as Under Butlers for carrying things into y^e Parlour for y^e Stewards Table, y^t they attend y^e Service there, as y^e Steward or Comptroller shall appoint.
10. That y^e wayters who dine not at y^e Stewards Table, but wayt upon his Graces Table, eat all together at one Table.

For y^e Ussher of y^e Hall

1. That y^e Ussher of y^e Hall looks to have his Hall every morning clean swept, to be carefull to keep it so all day.
2. That after Prayers, as before, he call to y^e carying of y^e Covering, Plate Meat, in Candle time for lights to be carried up in due time, when meat is carried through y^e Hall, he is to ussher y^e Sewer, to call to such p re sens as are yⁿ y^e Hall, to stand by be uncovered.
3. That after y^e Chamb er Parlour be covered, he see y^e Hall Boards covered, y^t he suffer none to play or stay in y^e Hall during Prayer time, but that he will y^m to resort to prayers, if any refuse, he is to informe y^e Steward, who is to take Order in it.
4. That he suffer noe imp er tinent or unmeet p er sons to hang about y^e Hall or House about Mealtme.
5. That he see after every Dinner in y^e hall y^e Almes Basket filled wth y^e Remainders of every Table, to deliver up y^e Basket to y^e Porter of y^e Gate, both of y^m to see y^e Poor well due ly served at y^e gate, with such Discretion in y^e Distribution, that some have not more yⁿ theyr Due, but all equally served as near as they can doe it.

For the Buttery.

1. That y^e Butler be ready to attend his Office to serve all Liver ie answer all Calls when at any time he hath occasion to be abs en t, y^t he leave word wth y^e Porter where he may be found.
2. That y^e Plate Linnen for Covering within charge of y^e Buttery be ever ready to be carried up, at y^e times y^t y^e Ussher of y^e Hall shall call.
3. That none be permitted to goe into y^e Seller to Drink, or to give entertainm en t there to Strang er s, but by special appointm en t.

4. The Gentlemen of y^e Family have Liberty to come in y^e Buttery to bring in theyr Friends, Strangers of like quality, where y^e Butler is to be ready to attend y^m during theyr abode, they demeaning y^m selves discreetly, both for y^e time mannour of theyr Stay. And if those who serve in y^e Family in Condition Title of Yeomen under, come only to y^e Buttery Hatch, and there drinck entertain y^{yr} Friends wth Discretion civility.
5. That when Strangers are lodged in y^e House y^{re} be Liveries prepared for theyr Chambers in due time according to y^{yr} qualities.
6. That at night after y^e great Chamber is voyded, y^e Butler is to call upon y^e Groom of y^e Chamber for y^e Candles ends, such as shall not be burnt out, to take serve to y^e Servants for to light them to Bed, to suffer none for fees.
7. That y^{re} be noe Fees taken in y^e Butery or Sellar, but such as shall be allowed by y^e Steward or Comptroller, after conference with his Grace first had.

For y^e Kitchin.

1. That y^e Fires be there made in due time, putt out in due time, y^t care be had of preservation of Fireing.
2. That noe Fees be taken by y^e Head Cook or Under Cook, but that y^e Kitchin Stuffe, all y^e Tallow Suett y^t come into y^e Kitchin or Larder be preserved accompted for to y^e Clerk of y^e Kitchin, by him brought to accompt for his Graces use The like for Feathers Skins.
3. That at y^e serving out of meat, they suffer none to be in y^e Kitchin but such to whome it belongs to performe some office that belongs to y^e Service, to take care that there be noe Lotters of Charfolkes cherished there.
4. That noe Breakfasts be given out but unto such to whom it shall be especially allowed, for w^{ch} they must receive Directions from y^e Steward or Comptroller.

For y^e Bakehouse Brewhouse there needs noe Orders, soe long as his Grace buyes his Bread his Bear abroad.

For y^e Stable.

1. That y^e Gentleman of y^e Horse be acknowledges to have Command in Generall of y^e whole Charge of y^e Stables Stablers.

2. That nothing in y^t Office be reputed or taken for Fees, but all things there depend on his Grace's will & [DAMAGE] distribute // & dispose as his Grace thincks fitt.
3. That noe mony be disbursed in y^t Office, but by y^e Gent: of the Horse, y^t all Demands be vouched warranted by y^e s^d Gent: ...
(f.36v)
... of y^e Horse, y^t nothing be called for by Groomes or Coachman, but by y^e consent privity of him.
4. The Footmen to be commanded by y^e Gentleman of y^e horse, within y^e House by y^e Steward Comptroller, Se- cretarie, to be sent of Errands as occasion serveth.
5. That noe Allowances be exceeded in y^e Stable, nor noe purloynning of Provender, but every week a Note taken of y^e house horses, to make theyr Allowance certaine, at y^e end of every week, an Accompt taken of y^e Expences of that week.

That noe Servant in any Place expect Fees of his place, b *ut* such as shall be allowed by his Grace p ar ticularly, but be entered with theyr wages contracted for, & for Further rewards to // depend upon his Grace's bounty to consider of y^e merits of theyr Services.

Lastly that all in Generall Particular do bear respect to y^e Steward Comptroller, have regard to theyr directions in such things as his Grace com m ands to be observed fr y^e good Governm en t of y^e Family.

At base of the page, corresponding to paper folds Copy of Orders Delivered to his Grace y^e ArchBP of Canter 31st July 1662.

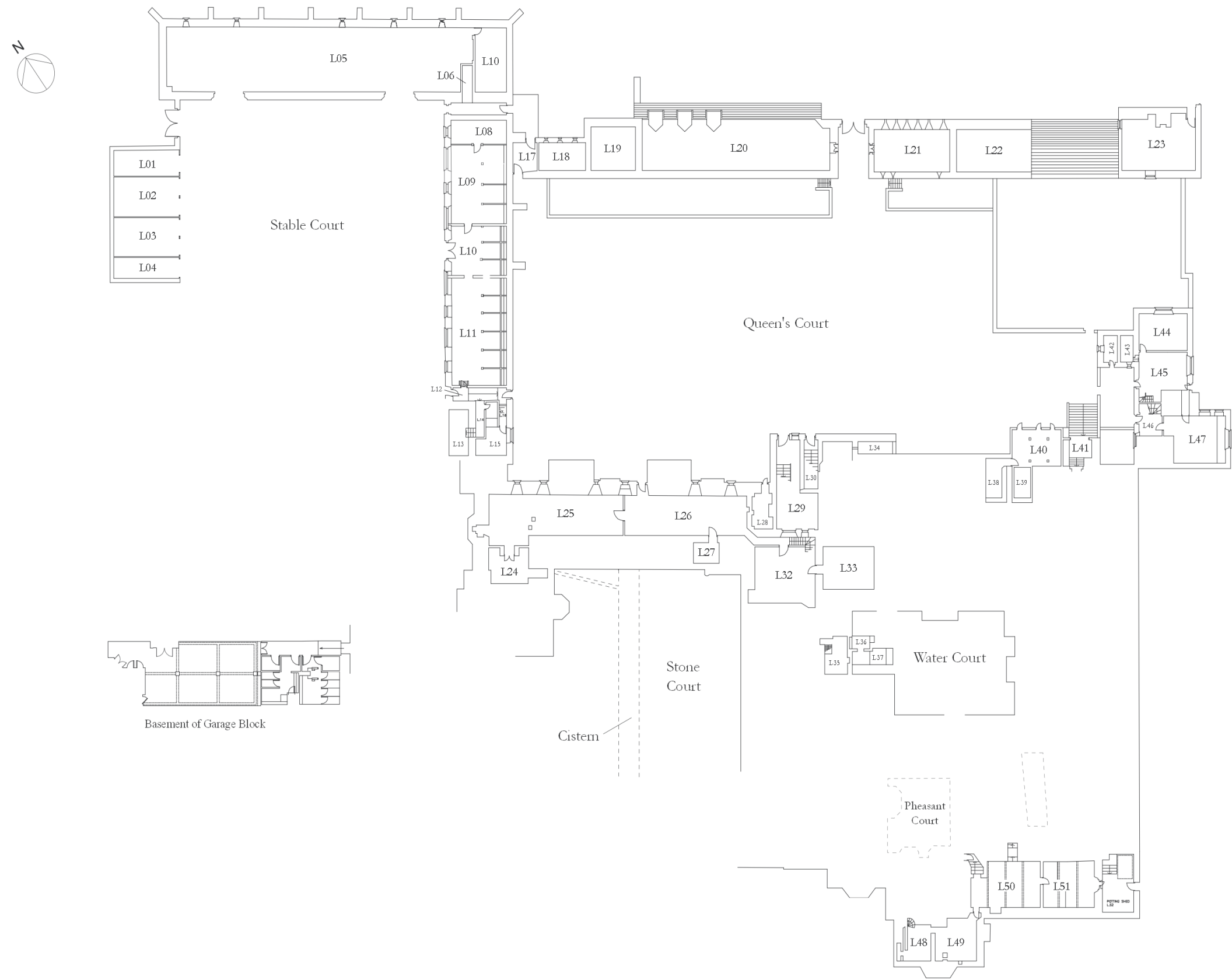


Figure 01
Knole: Lower Ground
Floor
Room Numbers

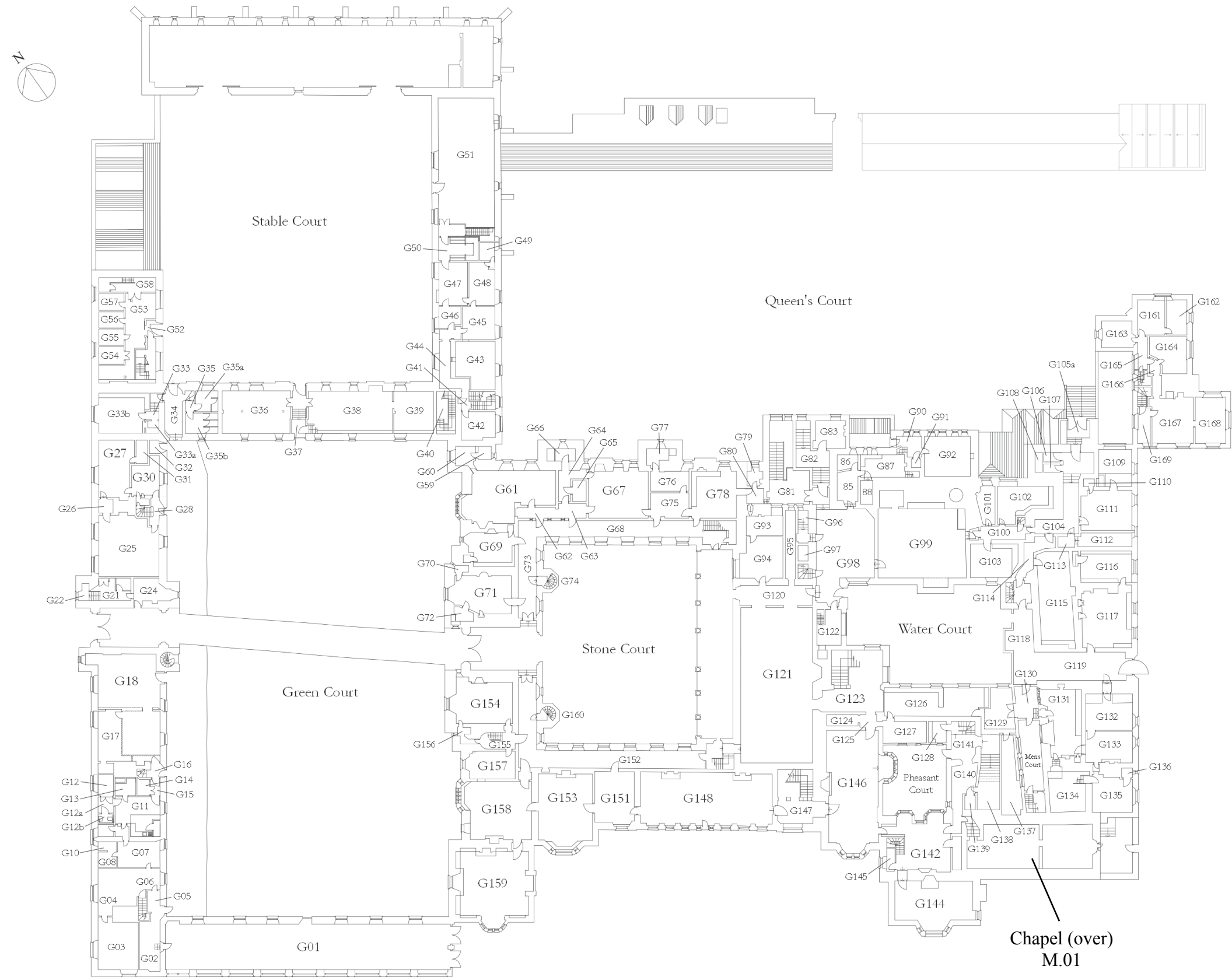


Figure 02
Knole: Ground Floor
Room Numbers

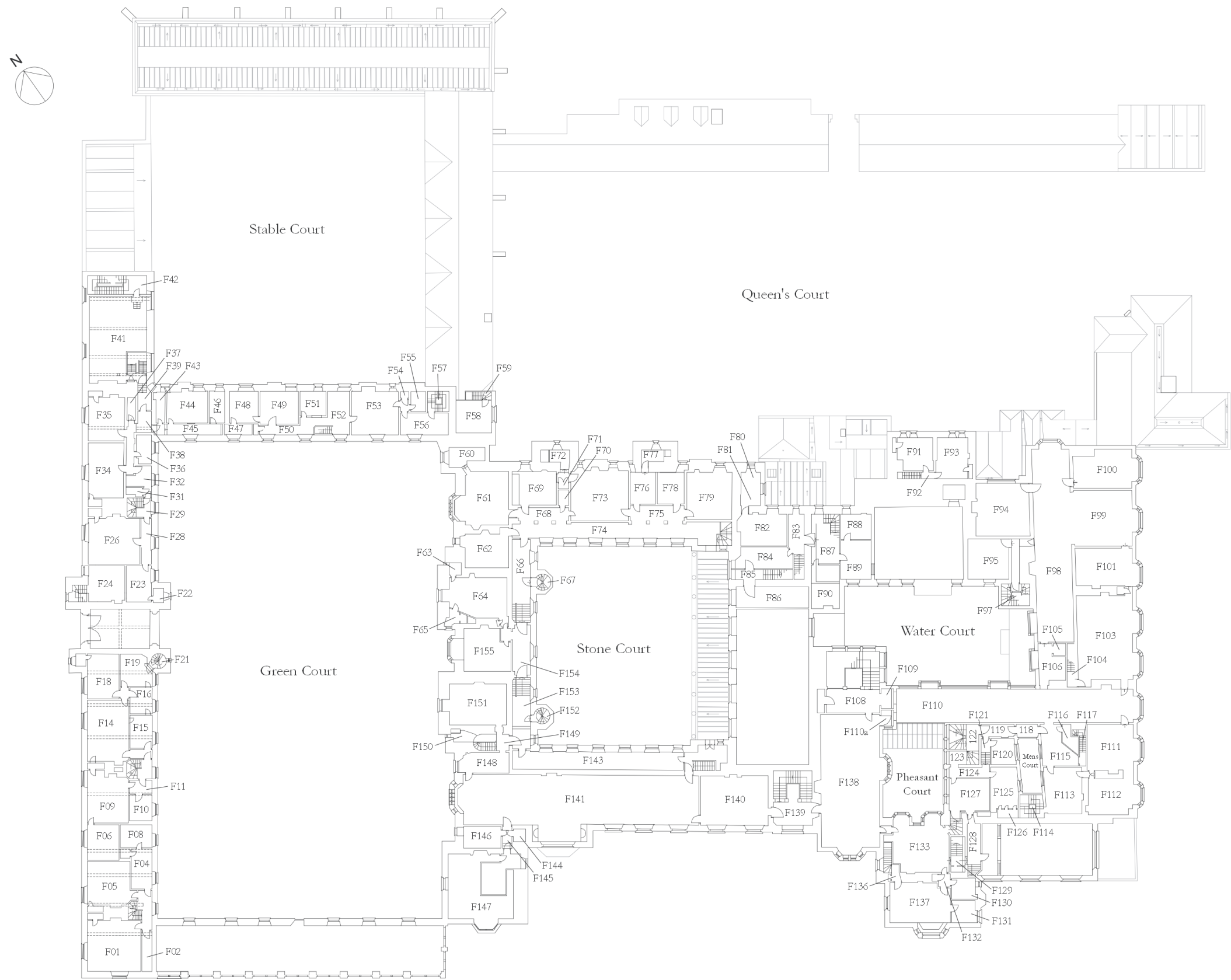


Figure 03
Knole: First Floor
Room Numbers

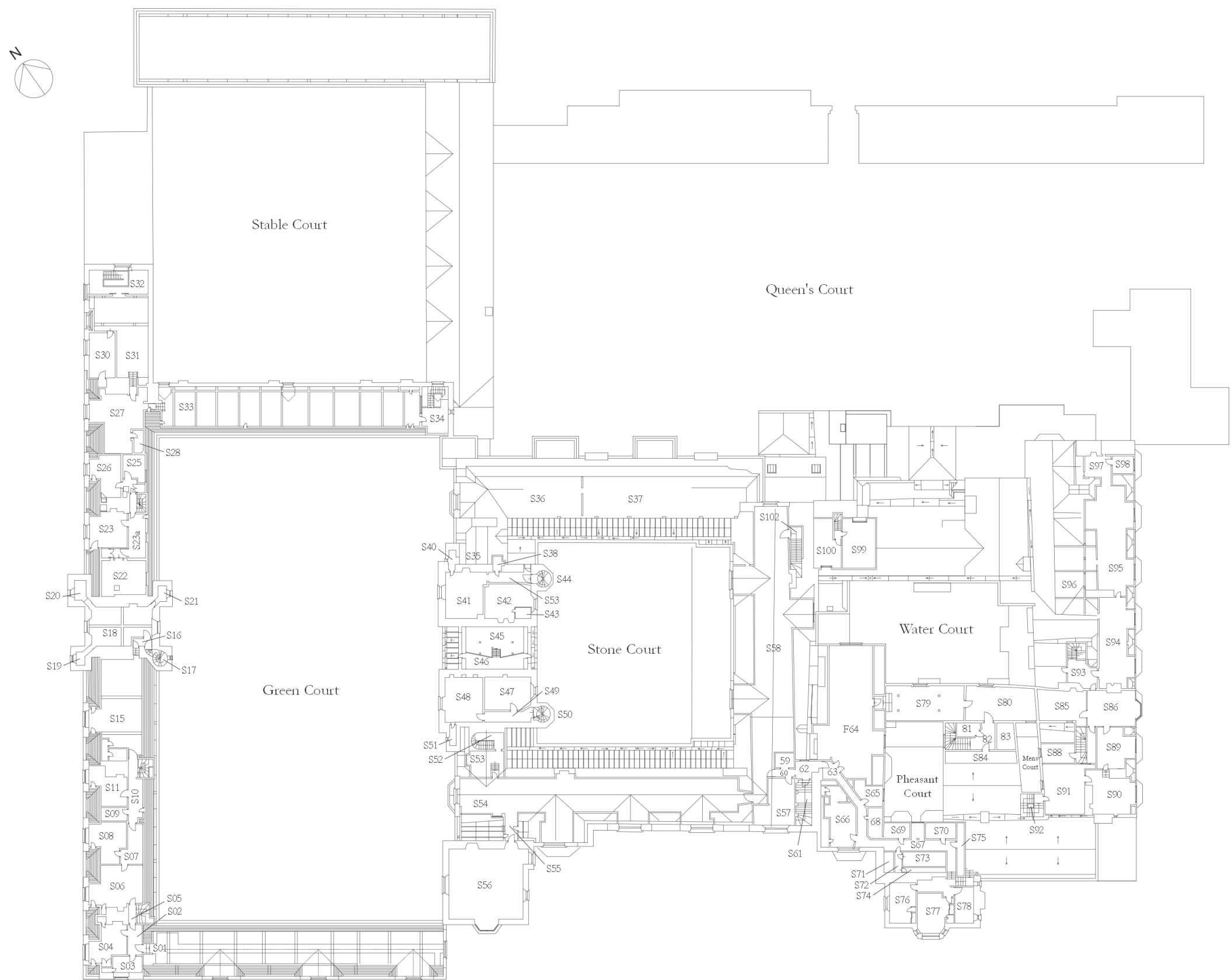


Figure 04
Knole: Second Floor
Room Numbers

Lower Ground Floor

L-01	Garage
L-02	Garage
L-03	Garage
L-04	Garage
L-05	Garage Block Barn
L-06	Store
L-07	Store
L-08	Stables
L-09	Stables
L-10	Stables
L-11	Stables
L-12	Lobby
L-13	Stairwell
L-14	Passage
L-15	Store
L-16	Stair
L-17	Store
L-18	Former Bottle Store
L-19	Former Slaughterhouse
L-20	Former Brewhouse
L-21	Store 7: Former Barn
L-22	Store 6
L-23	Workmen's Room
L-24	Cellar Area 4
L-25	Cellar Area 3
L-26	Cellar Area 2
L-27	Mr Hugh's Winestore
L-28	Wood Store
L-29	Stair
L-30	Stair
L-31	Not identified
L-32	Cellar Area 1
L-33	Lord Sackville's Winestore
L-34	Bin Store
L-35	Boiler Room
L-36	Area
L-37	Area
L-38	Boiler Room
L-39	Oil Tank
L-40	Materials Store
L-41	Lobby
L-42	Store
L-43	Store
L-44	Garden Store
L-45	Boiler Room
L-46	Stair
L-47	Living Room
L-48	Cellar
L-49	Cellar
L-50	Crypt
L-51	Crypt (Boiler Room)
L-52	Potting Shed

Ground Floor

G-01	Orangery
G-02	Passage
G-03	Living Room
G-04	Dining Room
G-05	Passage
G-06	--
G-07	Kitchen
G-08	Larder
G-09	Cupboard
G-10	WC
G-11	Staff Rest Room
G-12	Boiler Room
G-12a	Lobby
G-12b	WC
G-13	Store
G-14	Water Cylinder
G-15	Lobby
G-16	Lobby
G-17	Store
G-18	National Trust Shop
G-19	Not identified
G-20	Not identified
G-21	Poke Store
G-22	--
G-23	--
G-24	Poke
G-25	Estate Office
G-26	--
G-27	H Sackville-West's Office
G-28	Lobby
G-29	Not identified
G-30	Lord Sackville's Office
G-31	Store
G-32	WC
G-33	Lobby
G-33a	Kitchen
G-33b	Education Room
G-34	Passage
G-35	Lobby
G-35a	Male WC
G-35b	Female WC
G-36	Furniture Store
G-37	Lobby
G-38	Electricians Store W
G-39	Electricians Store E
G-40	Stair
G-41	Stair
G-42	Bedroom
G-43	Living Room
G-44	Passage
G-45	Kitchen
G-46	Bathroom
G-47	Dining Room
G-48	Store

G-49	Bath
G-50	Boxroom
G-51	Stable Room
G-52	Lobby
G-53	Stable Court Store
G-54	Store
G-55	Store
G-56	Store
G-57	Store
G-58	Stair
G-59	Store
G-60	Study
G-61	N Wing Drawing Room
G-62	Inner Passage
G-63	ditto
G-64	Corridor
G-65	Store
G-66	WC
G-67	North Wing Dining Room
G-68	Black Boy Passage
G-69	Telephone Room
G-70	Store
G-71	Gateway Room
G-72	Bathroom
G-73	Passage
G-74	Spiral Stair
G-75	Bar
G-76	Nursery
G-77	WC
G-78	Kitchen
G-79	Store
G-80	Lobby
G-81	Stair Lobby
G-82	Landing
G-83	Chair Store
G-84	Not identified
G-85	Hall
G-86	Bath
G-87	Kitchen
G-88	Store
G-89	Coal Store
G-90	Lobby
G-91	Store
G-92	Living Room
G-93	Work Room
G-94	Junk Room
G-95	Pantry
G-96	Stair
G-97	? Store
G-98	Old Kitchen Lobby
G-99	Old Kitchen
G-100	Corridor
G-101	Sugar Store
G-102	Water Softener Room
G-103	Arms Room

G-104	Corridor
G-105	Porch stairs
G-105a	Porch
G-106	WC
G-107	WC
G-108	Void
G-109	Larder
G-110	Store
G-111	Butchery
G-112	Store
G-113	Lobby
G-114	Corridor
G-115	Servants Hall
G-116	Inner Still Room
G-117	Still Room
G-118	Passage Wood Store
G-119	Still Room Passage
G-120	Screens Passage
G-121	Great Hall
G-122	Boot Hole
G-123	Great Staircase
G-124	Store
G-125	Lobby
G-126	Kitchen
G-127	Larder
G-128	WC
G-129	Hall
G-130	Outer Lobby
G-131	Flower Room
G-132	Steward's Room 2
G-133	Steward's Room 1
G-134	Void (Plate Store Over)
G-135	Puppy Room
G-136	Store
G-137	Boot Room
G-138	Store
G-139	Log Store
G-140	--
G-141	Inner Hall
G-142	French Library
G-143	Not identified
G-144	Sitting Room
G-145	WC
G-146	Poet's Parlour
G-147	Stone Lobby
G-148	Colonnade Room
G-149	Stair
G-150	Parlour Passage
G-151	Guardroom
G-152	Parlour Passage
G-153	Boudoir
G-154	Rose Room
G-155	Stair
G-156	Cupboard
G-157	Bathroom

G-158	Music Room
G-159	Library
G-160	Spiral Stair
G-161	Room 1
G-162	Room 2
G-163	Bathroom
G-164	Room 3
G-165	Corridor
G-166	Lobby
G-167	Room 4
G-168	Room 5
G-169	Kitchen

Mezzanine Floor

M-01	Landing
M-02	Vestry
M-03	Chapel
M-04	Plate Store
M-05	Landing
M-06	Bathroom
M-07	Store
M-08	Store
M-09	Store
M-10	Lobby
M-11	Store
M-12	Living Room
M-13	
M-14	Kitchen
M-15	Spare Room
M-16	Bedroom

First Floor

F-01	Bedroom 2
F-02	Cupboard
F-03	? Corridor
F-04	Laundry
F-05	Bedroom 1
F-06	NT Office
F-07	? Store
F-08	Bathroom
F-09	Main NT Office
F-10	NT Office
F-11	Lobby
F-12	? Cupboard
F-13	? Stair
F-14	Living Room
F-15	Kitchen
F-16	Bathroom
F-17	? Lobby
F-18	Bedroom
F-19	Bedroom 2
F-20	? Cupboard
F-21	Spiral Stair
F-22	Utility Room
F-23	Kitchen

F-24	NT Staff Room	F-78	Dutch Bathroom	F-129	Stair	S-25	Bathroom	S-80	Sewing Room
F-25	? Stair	F-79	Dutch Room	F-130	Bathroom	S-26	Bedroom 1	S-81	Cupboard
F-26	Living Room	F-80	Bathroom	F-131	Dresser	S-27	Needle Room Kitchen	S-82	Landing
F-27	Cupboard	F-81	Kitchen	F-132	Lobby	S-28	WC	S-83	VOID
F-28	Store	F-82	Mrs Hutchinson's Room	F-133	Pheasant Court Room	S-29	Store	S-84	VOID
F-29	Stair	F-83	Lobby	F-134	Not identified	S-30	Store	S-85	Room 3
F-30	??	F-84	Lobby	F-135	Not identified	S-31	Needle Room Lobby	S-86	Room 4
F-31	Wardrobe	F-85	Passage	F-136	Lobby	S-32	Landing	S-87	? Stair
F-32	Bedroom 3	F-86	Minstrels Gallery	F-137	Lord Lady Sackville's	S-33	Needle Room	S-88	? Landing
F-33	Corridor	F-87	Lobby 3		Bedroom	S-34	Escape Stair	S-89	Room 5
F-34	Living Room	F-88	Pigeon Loft 1	F-138	Ballroom	S-35	? Stair	S-90	Room 7
F-35	Kitchen	F-89	Pigeon Loft 2	F-139	Stone Lobby Stair	S-36	Roofspace over N Range	S-91	Room 6
F-36	Bath	F-90	Mrs Hutchinson's Store	F-140	Reynolds Room	S-37	Roofspace over N Range	S-92	Stair
F-37	Store	F-91	Bedroom 1	F-141	Cartoon Gallery	S-38	Store	S-93	Lobby
F-38	Landing	F-92	Stair	F-142	? Stair	S-39	Corridor	S-94	Room 2
F-39	Lobby	F-93	Bedroom 2	F-143	Tapestry Passage	S-40	WC	S-95	Room 1
F-40	Landing	F-94	Venetian Ambassador's Room	F-144	Cupboard	S-41	Tower Room	S-96	Roofspace (over Leicester
F-41	Skin Loft	F-95	Showrooms Store	F-145	Passage	S-42	Telephone Room		Gallery)
F-42	Stair	F-96	Passage	F-146	King's Closet	S-43	Cupboard	S-97	Attic room
F-43	Store	F-97	? Stair	F-147	King's Bedroom	S-44	Spiral Stair	S-98	Store
F-44	Bedroom 1	F-98	Leicester Gallery	F-148	Bathroom	S-45	? Clock	S-99	Pigeon Loft 4
F-45	Corridor	F-99	Billiard Room	F-149	Stair	S-46	Clock Tower	S-100	Pigeon Loft 3
F-46	Bedroom 2	F-100	Venetian Ambassador's	F-150	Lavatory	S-47	Spare Room 2		
F-47	Bathroom		Dressing Room	F-151	Diana Room	S-48	Spare Room 1		
F-48	Bedroom 2]	F-101	Spangle Dressing Room	F-152	Spiral Stair	S-49	Corridor		
F-49	Bedroom 1	F-102	? Cupboard	F-153	Lobby	S-50	Spiral Stair		
F-50	Corridor	F-103	Spangle Bedroom	F-154	Corridor	S-51	Closet		
F-51	Kitchen	F-104	Stair	F-155	Bourchier's Room	S-52	Stair		
F-52	Hall	F-105	Store			S-53	Landing		
F-53	Sitting Room	F-106	China Closet	Second Floor		S-54	Barracks (S Range)		
F-54	Lobby	F-107	Store	S-01	Roofspace over Orangery	S-55	Lobby		
F-55	Bath	F-108	Great Staircase	S-02	Lobby	S-56	Room above King's Bedroom		
F-56	Bedroom 3	F-109	Lobby	S-03	Cupboard	S-57	Upper Spare Room		
F-57	Escape Stair	F-110	Brown Gallery	S-04	Bedroom 1	S-58	Barracks (E Range)		
F-58	Bedroom 1	F-110a	Cupboard	S-05	Landing	S-59	Store		
F-59	Stair	F-111	Lady Betty Germain's	S-06	Main Bedroom	S-60	Corridor		
F-60	Bath		Bedroom	S-07	Lobby	S-61	Stair		
F-61	Hugh Sackville-West's	F-112	Lady Betty Germain's	S-08	Bedroom	S-62	Lobby		
	Bedroom		Dressing Room	S-09	Bath	S-63	Corridor		
F-62	Mary's Room	F-113	Boxroom	S-10	Corridor	S-64	Picture Store		
F-63	Cupboard	F-114	Stair	S-11	Kitchen	S-65	Bath		
F-64	Rosalba Room	F-115	Boxroom	S-12	Stair	S-66	Teresa's Room		
F-65	Cupboard	F-116	Lobby	S-13	Not identified	S-67	? Cupboard		
F-66	Passage	F-117	Stair	S-14	Not identified	S-68	VOID		
F-67	Spiral Stair	F-118	Lobby	S-15	Living Room	S-69	VOID		
F-68	Lobby	F-119	Corridor	S-16	Lobby	S-70	VOID		
F-69	Jane's Room	F-120	Bathroom	S-17	Spiral Stair	S-71	VOID		
F-70	Cupboard	F-121	Stair	S-18	Mr Mason's Room	S-72	Cupboard		
F-71	Cupboard	F-122	Stair	S-19	Store	S-73	Store 1		
F-72	WC	F-123	Landing	S-20	Bath	S-74	Store 2		
F-73	George III's Room	F-124	Corridor	S-21	WC	S-75	VOID		
F-74	George III's Passage	F-125	Sophia's Room	S-22	Bedroom 3	S-76	Victoria's Room		
F-75	Lobby	F-126	Cupboard	S-23	Bedroom 2	S-77	Catherine's Room		
F-76	Laundry	F-127	Organ Room	S-23a	Lobby	S-78	Bath		
F-77	WC	F-128	Corridor	S-24	? Cupboard	S-79	Store		

Buildings
added during
phase

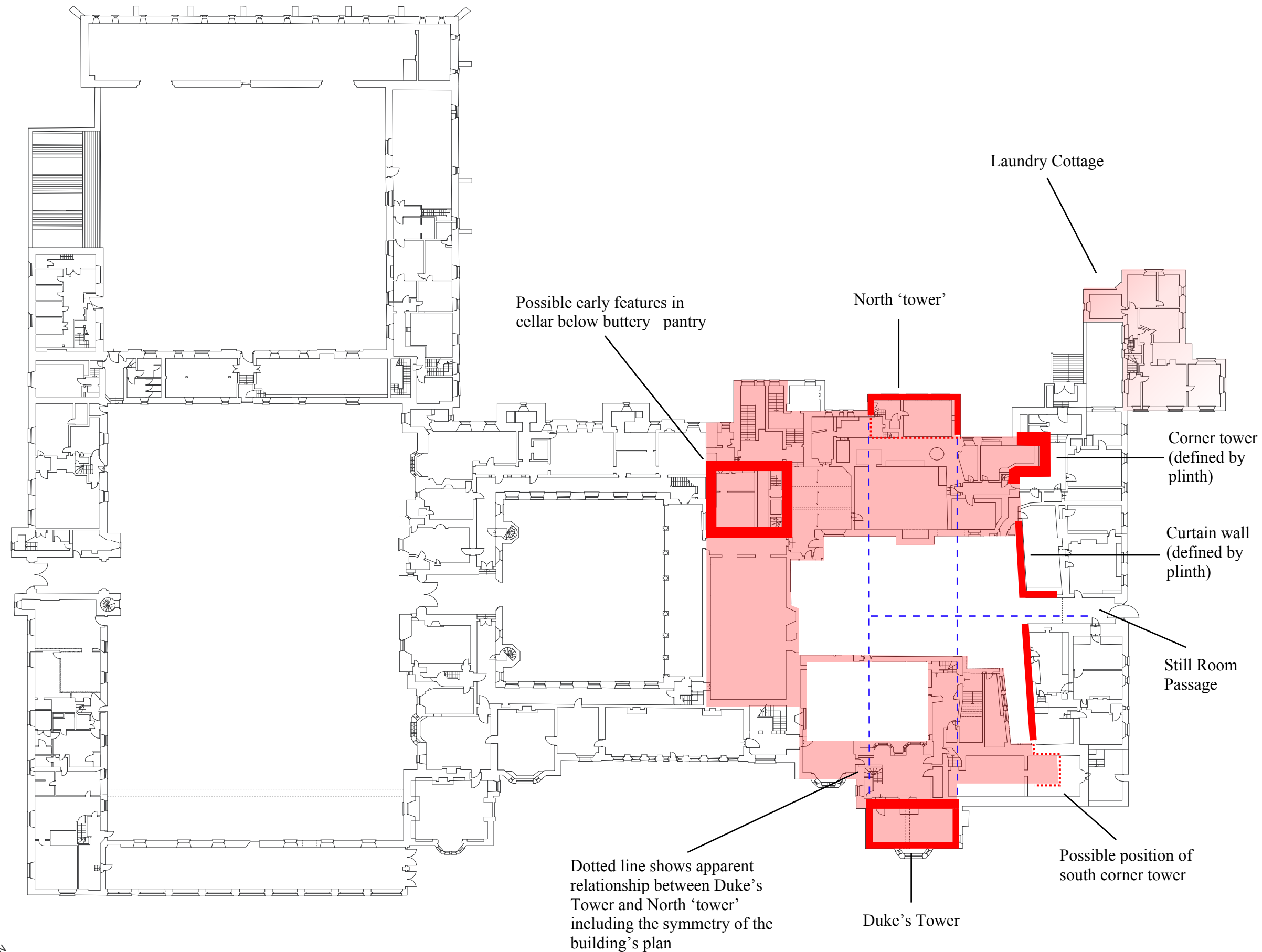


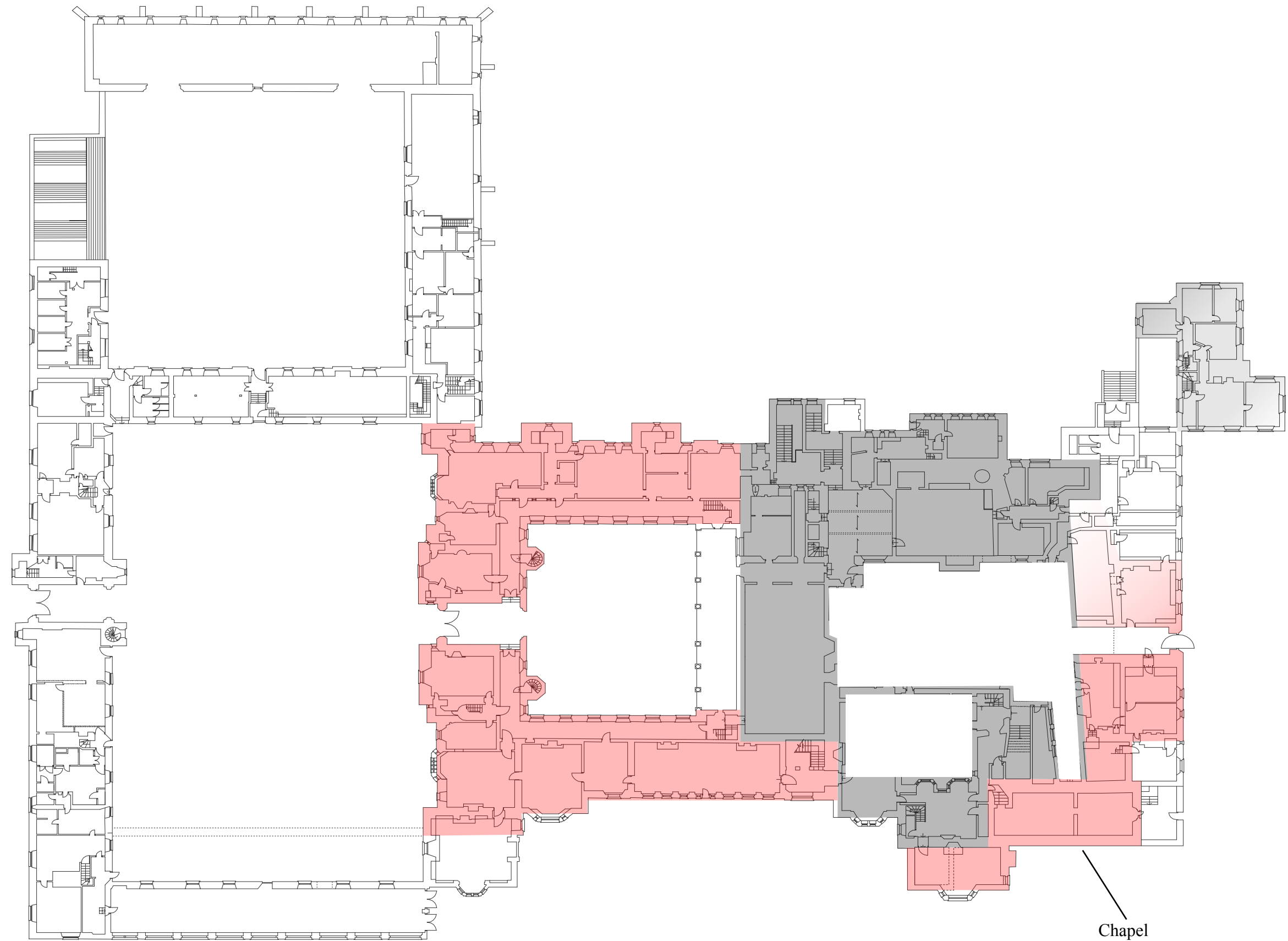
Figure 05

Phases 1 B 2 A.1

(c.1445 - c.1459)

Schematic plan showing pre- or early-Bourchier features (extant) and the probable extent of Knole as started by Sir James Fiennes and completed by Archbishop Bourchier.

Not to Scale



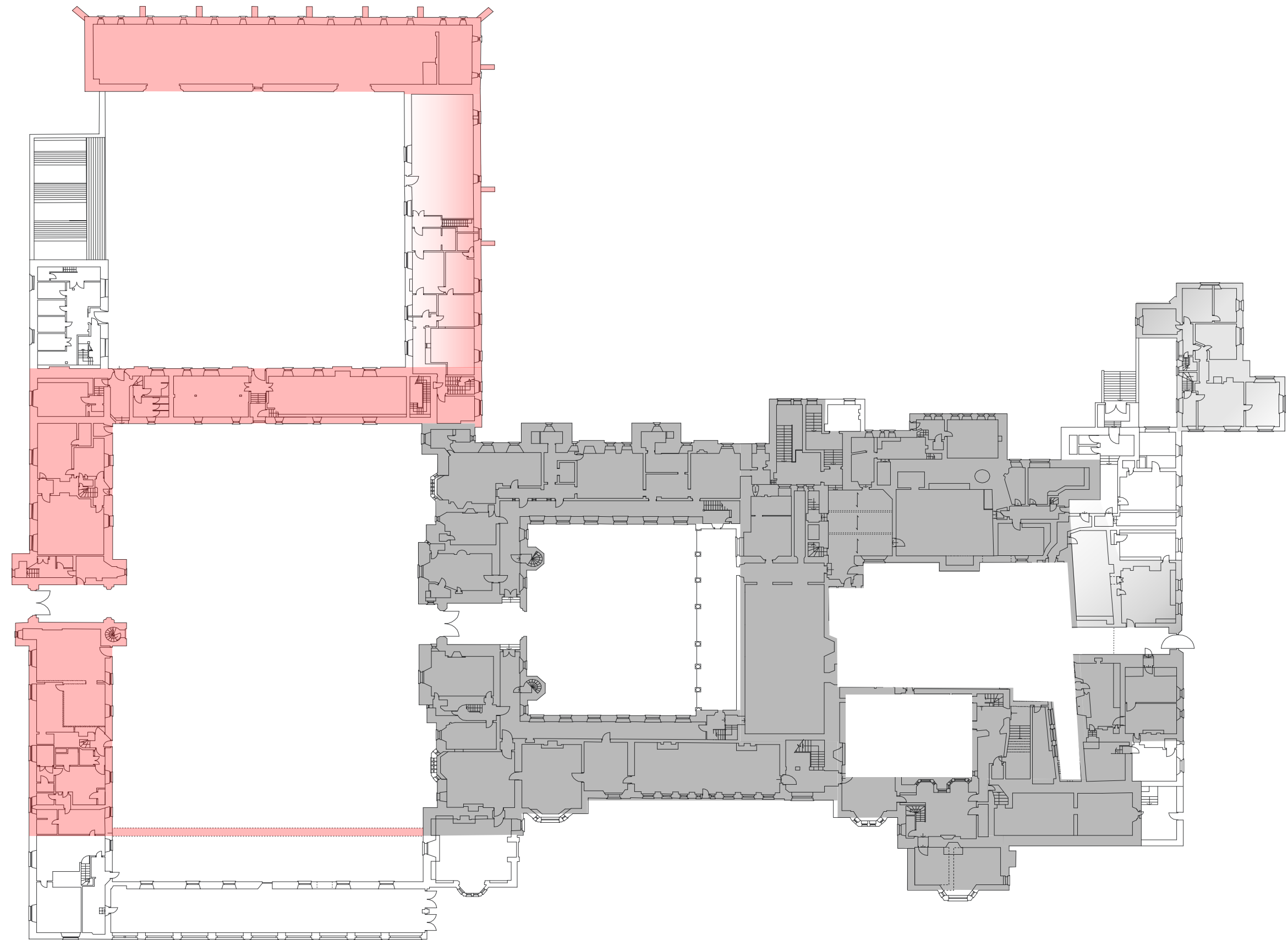
Buildings
added during
phase

Figure 06

Phase 2 A.2
(1460 - 1468)

Schematic plan showing
major additions by
Archbishop Bouchier
including Stone Court and
the Chapel.

Not to Scale



Buildings
added during
phase

Figure 07
Phase 2 A.3
(1472 - 1474)
Schematic plan showing
addition of Green Court
and Stable Court possibly
by Archbishop Bourchier.

Not to Scale

Buildings
added during
phase

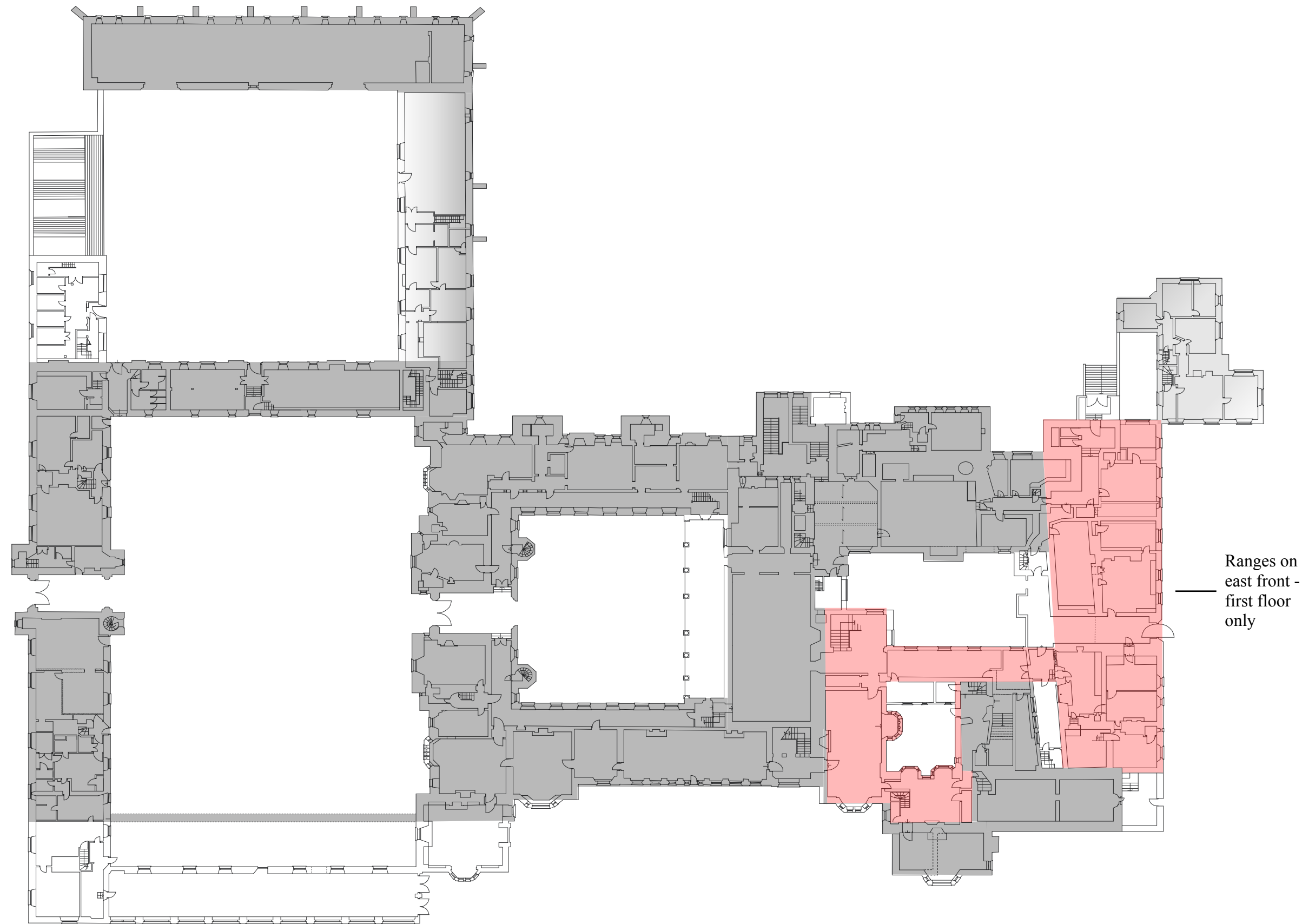
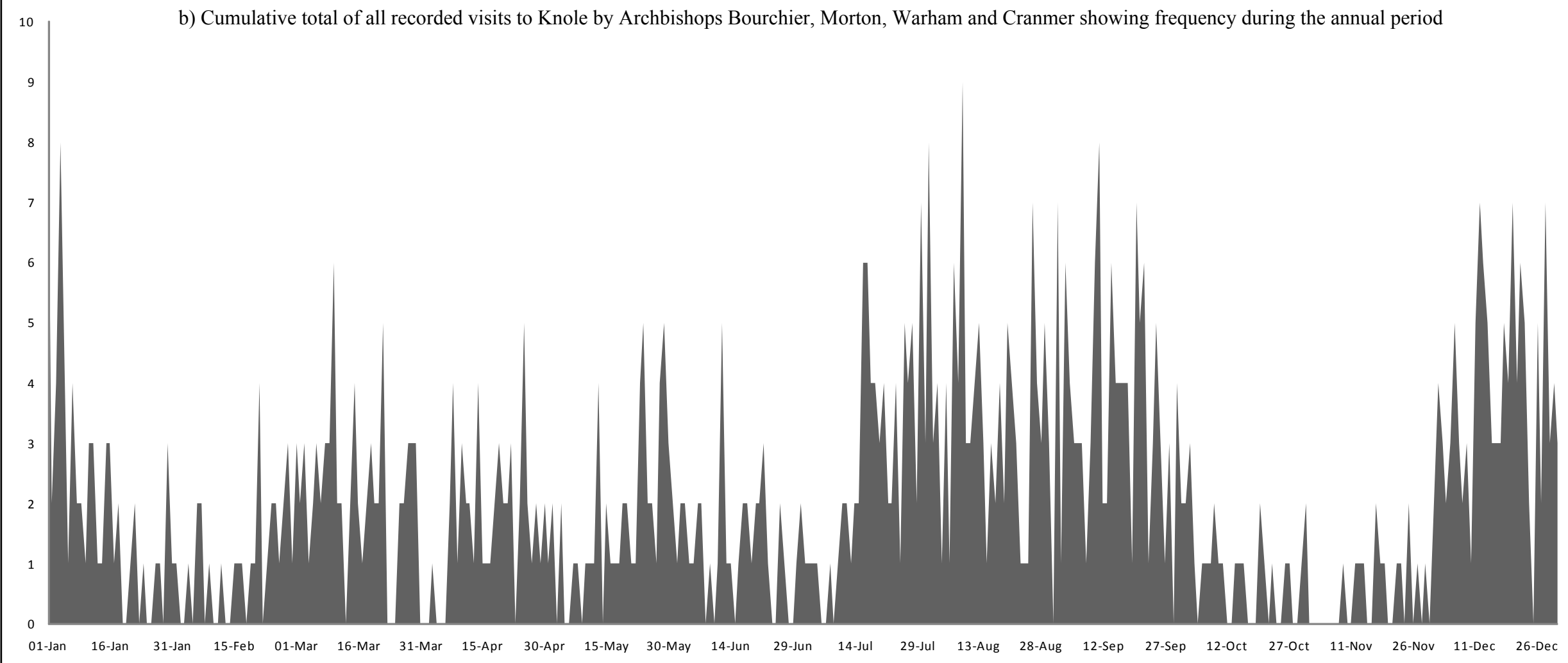
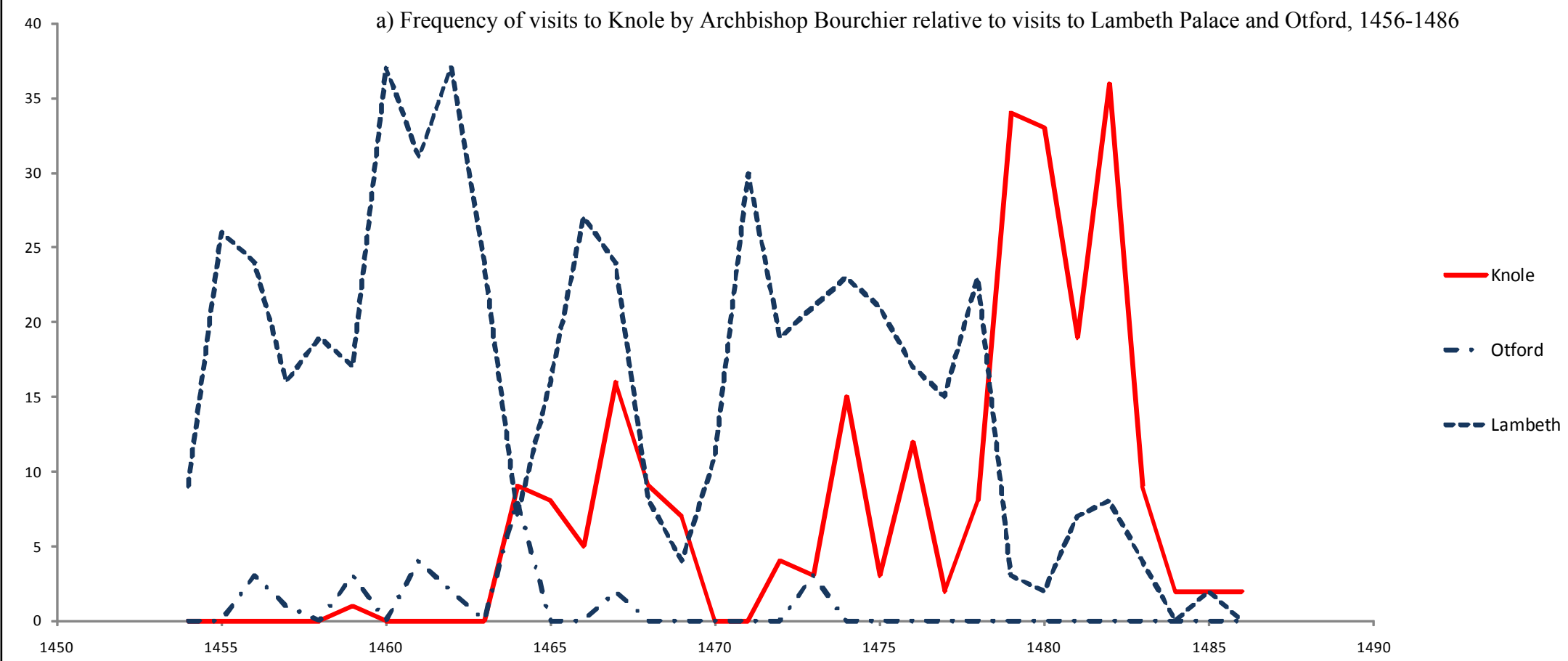


Figure 08

Phase 2 B.2
(1508 - 1525)

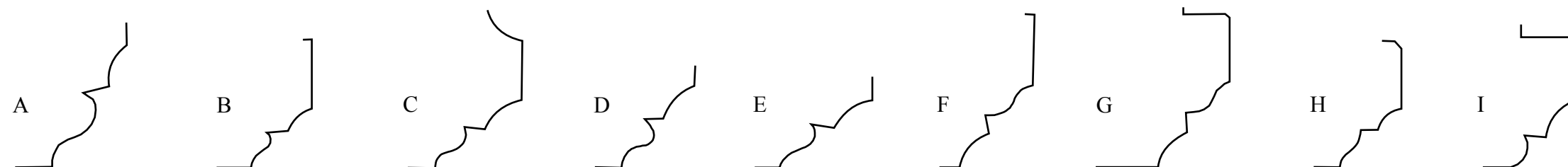
Schematic plan showing
additions by Archbishop
Warham including east
range (first floor), Brown
Gallery, Chapel Corridor,
Ballroom range and
Pheasant Court Building.



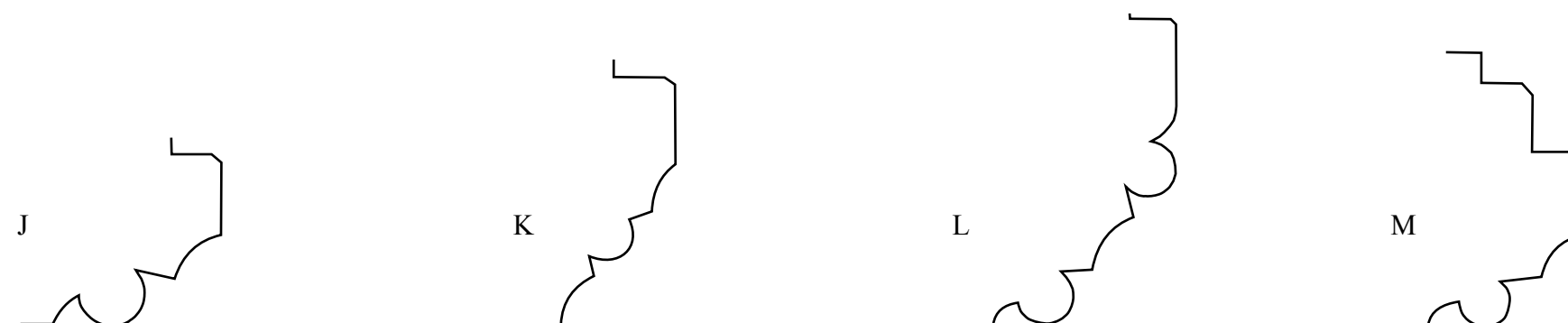
Sources
Reg. Bouchier
Reg. Warham
Cal. Pat.
Calendar Close Rolls
L&P

Figure 09

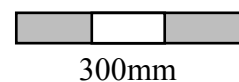
TYPE 1 - Associated with Archbishop Bouchier at Knole



TYPE 2 - Associated with Archbishop Bouchier at Knole



TYPE 3 - Possibly associated with Archbishop Warham at Knole



TYPE 1

- A) Screens Passage (G.120) to Buttery (G.95)
- B) Screen Passage (G.120) to Pantry (G.94)
- C) Kitchen Lobby (G.98) to Screens Passage (G.120)
- D) Colonnade (G.148) to Guardroom (G.151)
- E) Colonnade (G.148) to Stone Stairs (G.147)
- F) Bouchier's Room (F.154) to Passage (F.66)
- G) Bouchier's Room (F.154) to Rosalba Room (F.64)
- H) Green Court Passage (G.34) to Education Room (G.33)
- I) Green Court Passage (G.34) to Toilets (G.35)

TYPE 2

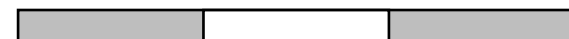
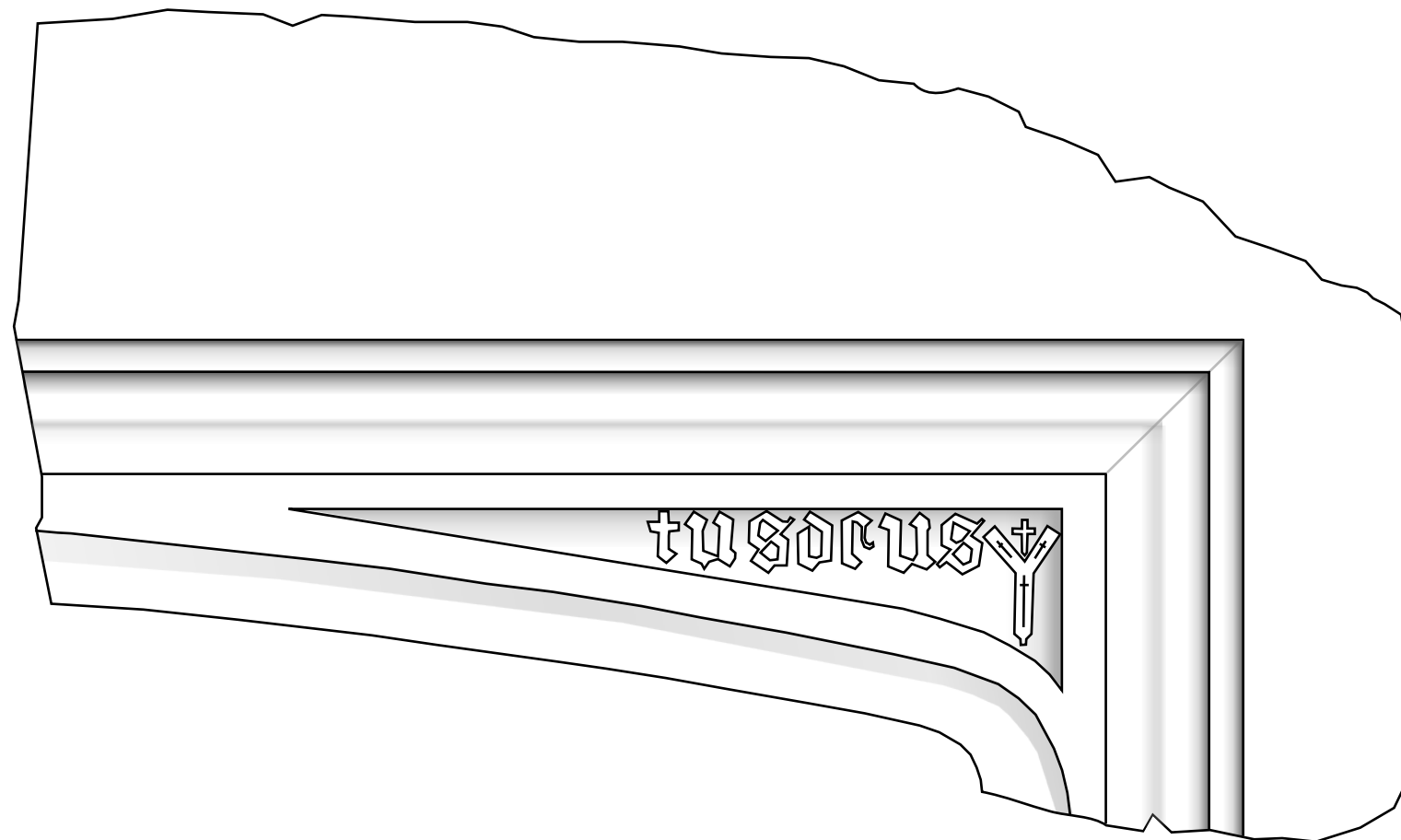
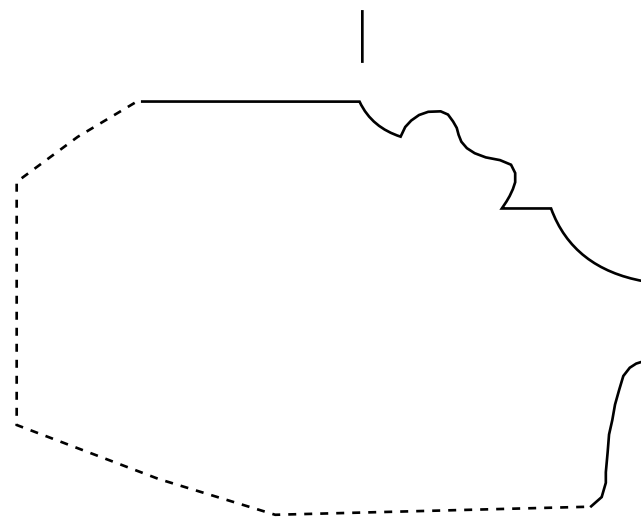
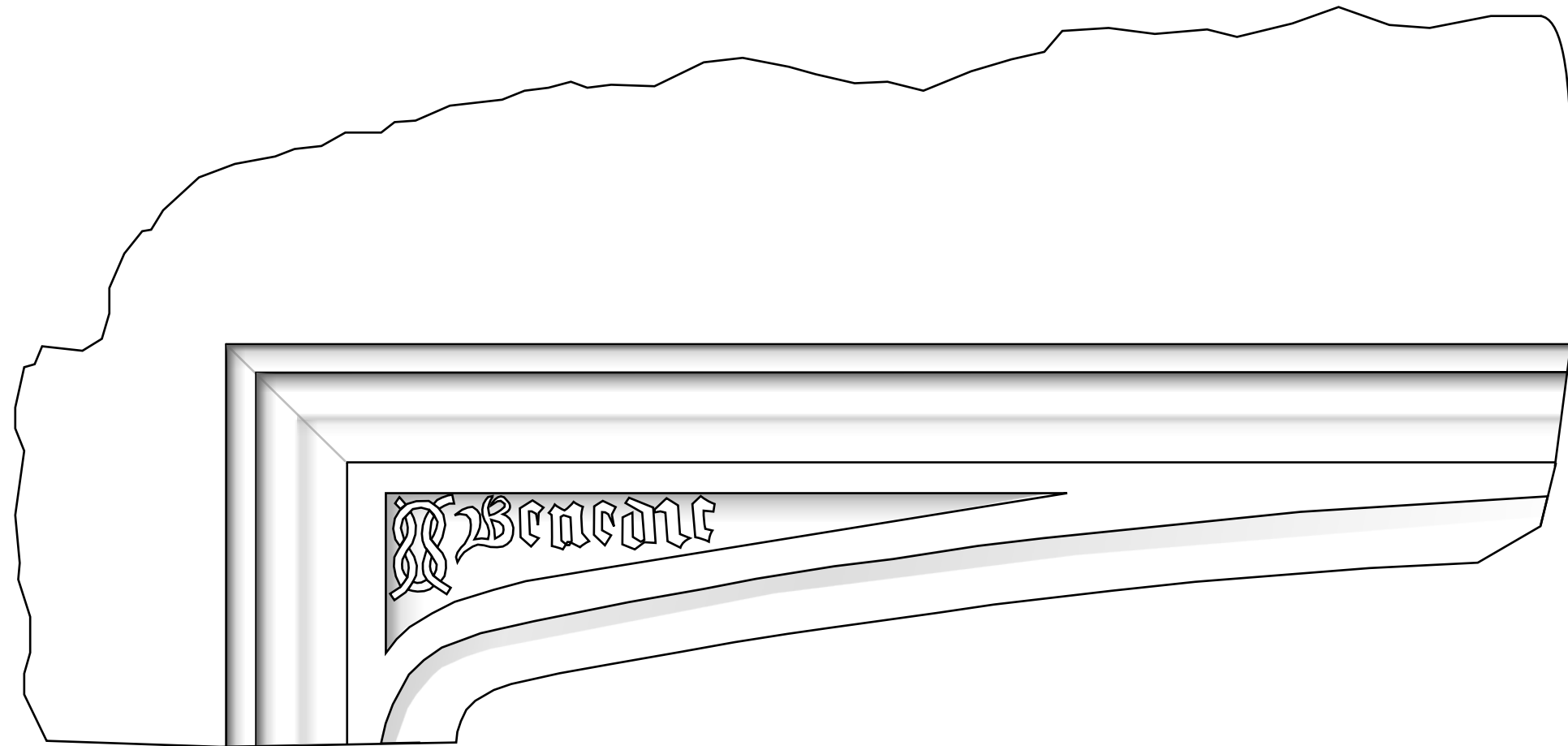
- J) Great Hall (G.121) to Lead Stairs
- K) Great Hall (G.121) to Great Stairs (G.123)
- L) Chapel (M.01)
- M) Reynolds Room (F.140) to Stone Stairs (F.139)

TYPE 3

- N) Kitchen Lobby (G.98) to Queen's Court Flat (G.85)
- O) Boiler Room (G.122) to Kitchen Lobby (G.98)

Figure 10

Doorway moulding profiles of stone door jambs at Knole.



300mm

Figure 11

Sprandrels of Bouchier
fireplace, formerly in the
Duke's Tower (F.137)
Knole.

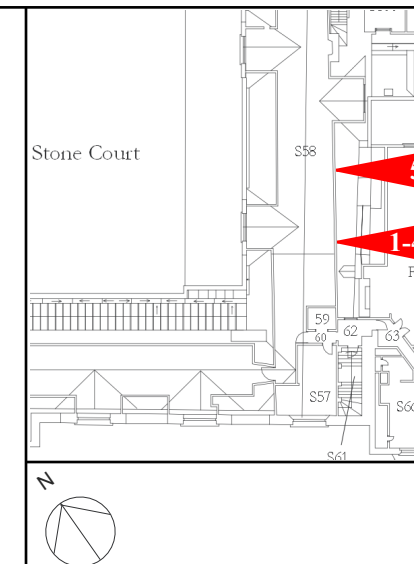
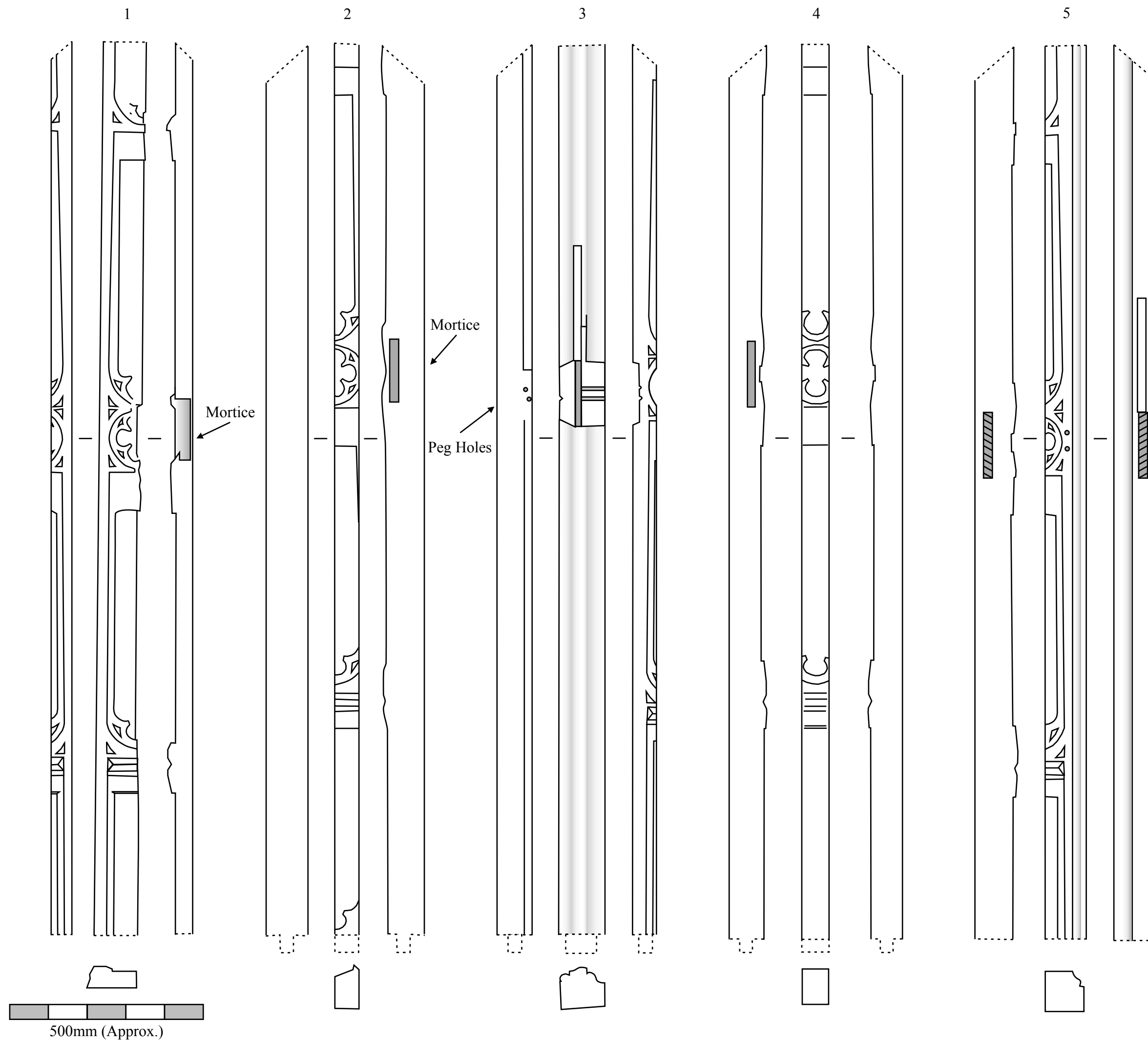


Figure 12

Retainer's Gallery (S.58)
Wall Studs - East Wall.
Made from reused timber
with blind tracery.

KNOLE: AN ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIAL
HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY'S HOUSE, 1456-1538

ALDEN GREGORY

VOLUME 2: PLANS AND IMAGES

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Department of Art History

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

October 2010

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to any other University for the award of any other degree

Alden Gregory

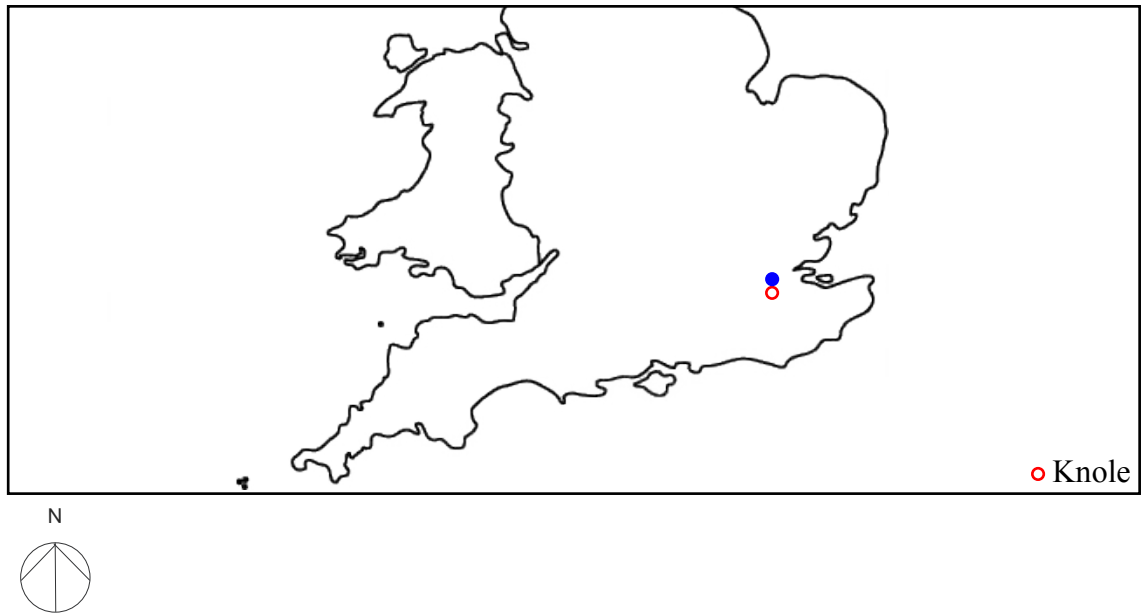


Figure 13: Otford Palace, Kent. (*Author*)

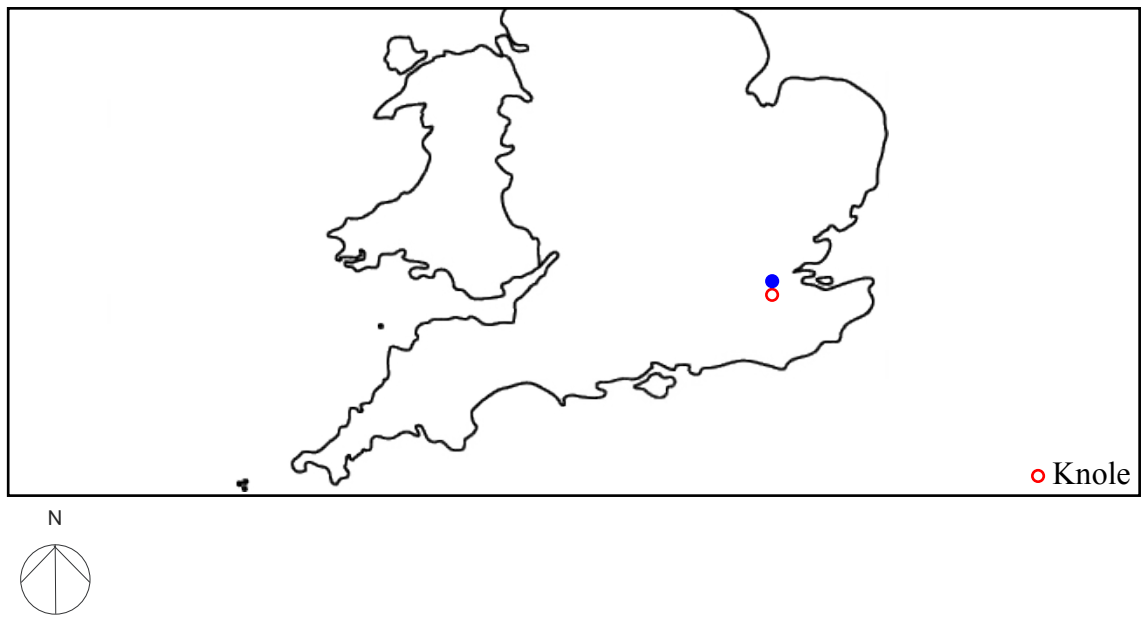


Figure 14: Fireplace in corner tower, Otford Palace, Kent. (*Author*)

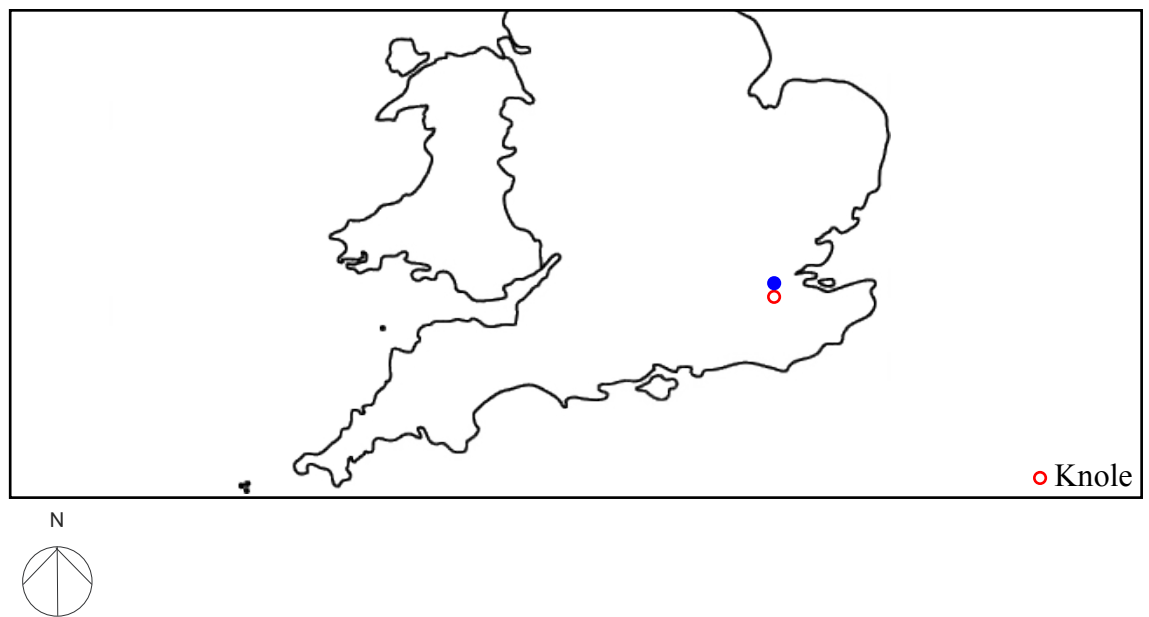


Figure 15: Type 3 doorway in gatehouse, Otford Palace, Kent. (*Author*)

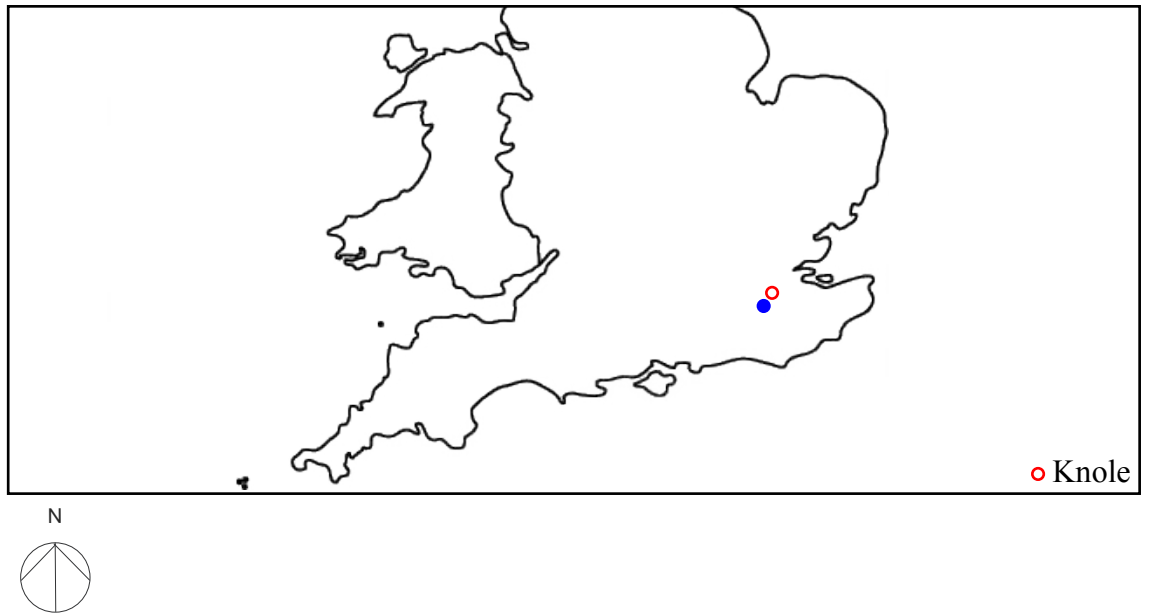


Figure 16: Hever Castle, Kent. (*Author*)

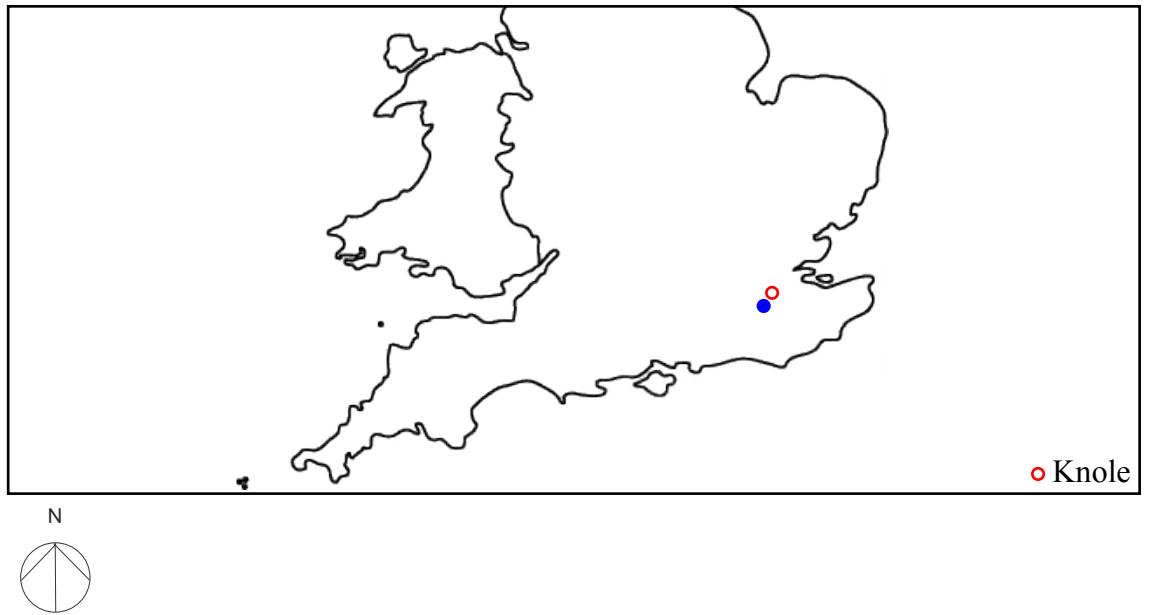


Figure 17: Hever Castle, Kent. Interior of courtyard. (*Author*)

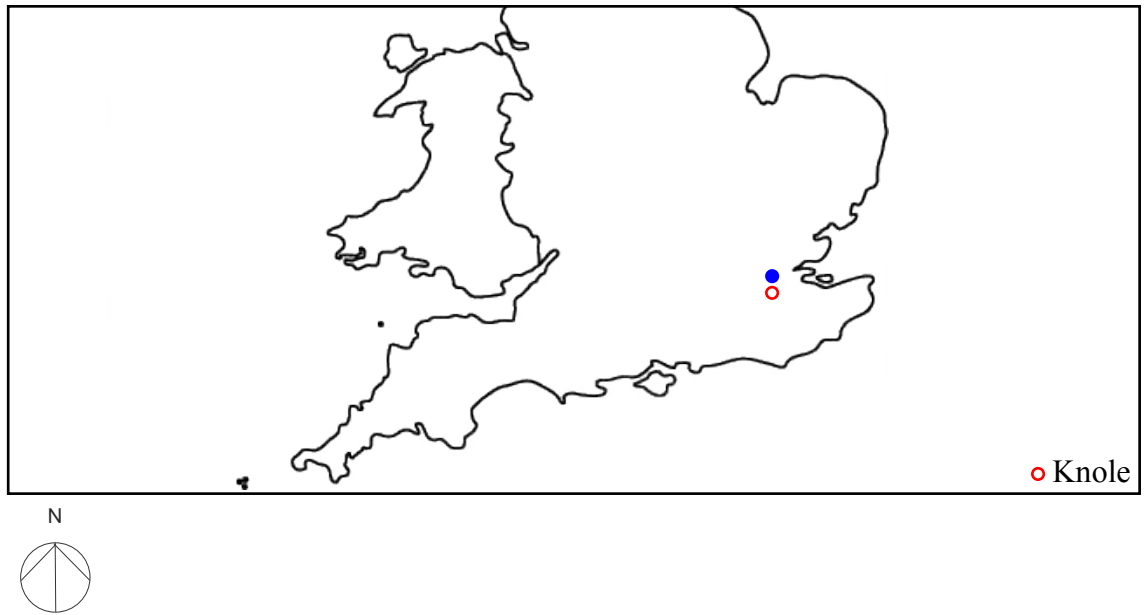


Figure 18: Eynsford Castle, Kent. (*Ron Strutt*)

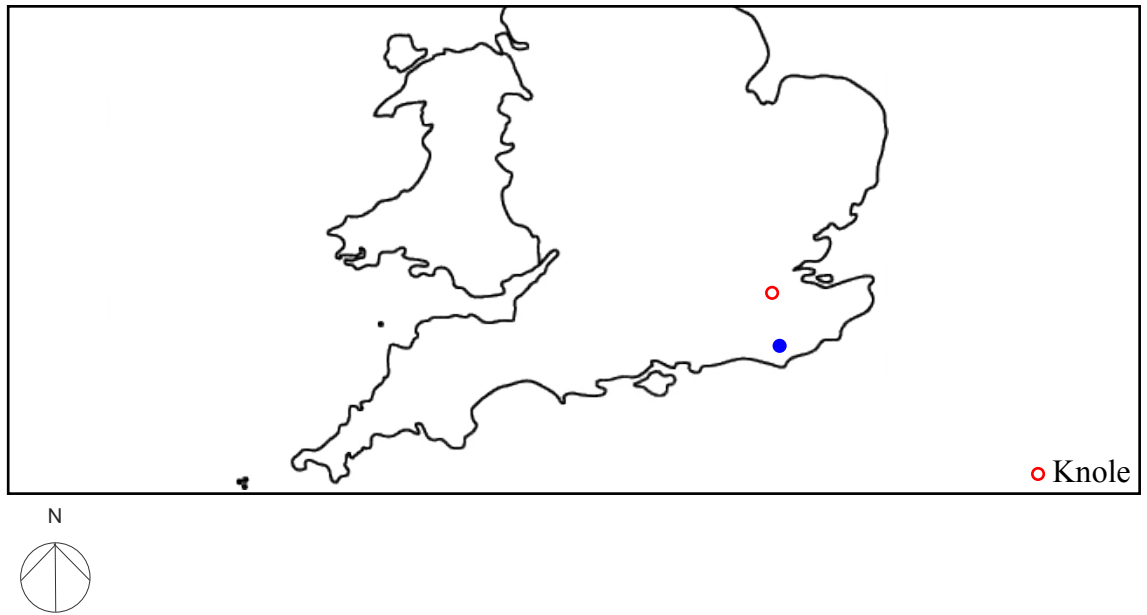


Figure 19: Herstmonceux Castle, East Sussex. (*Author*)

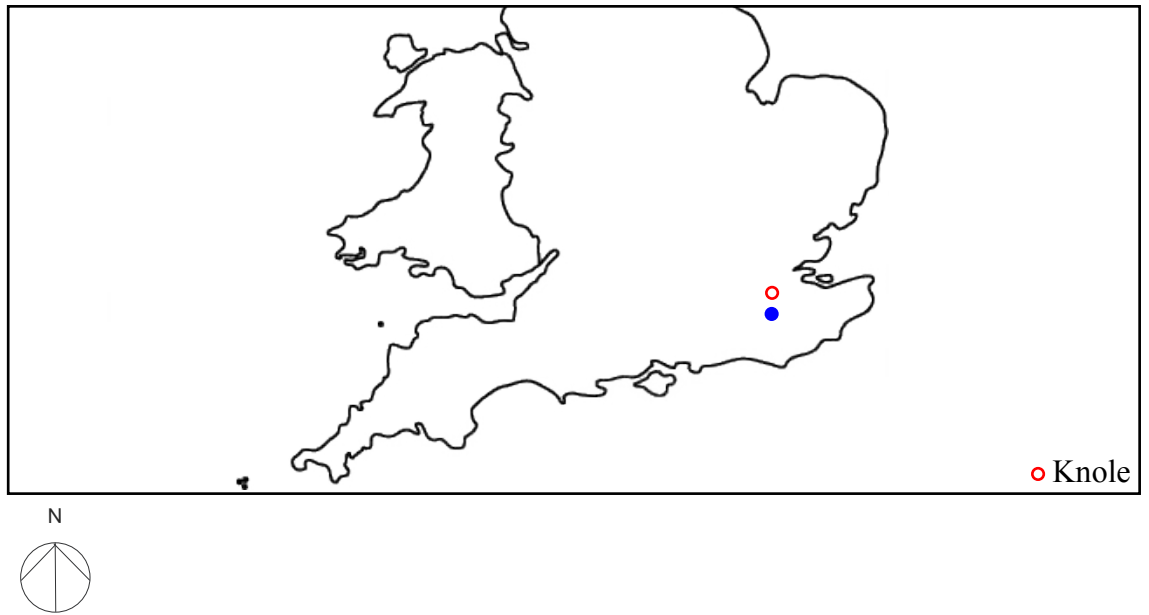


Figure 20: Penshurst Place, Kent. (*Author*)

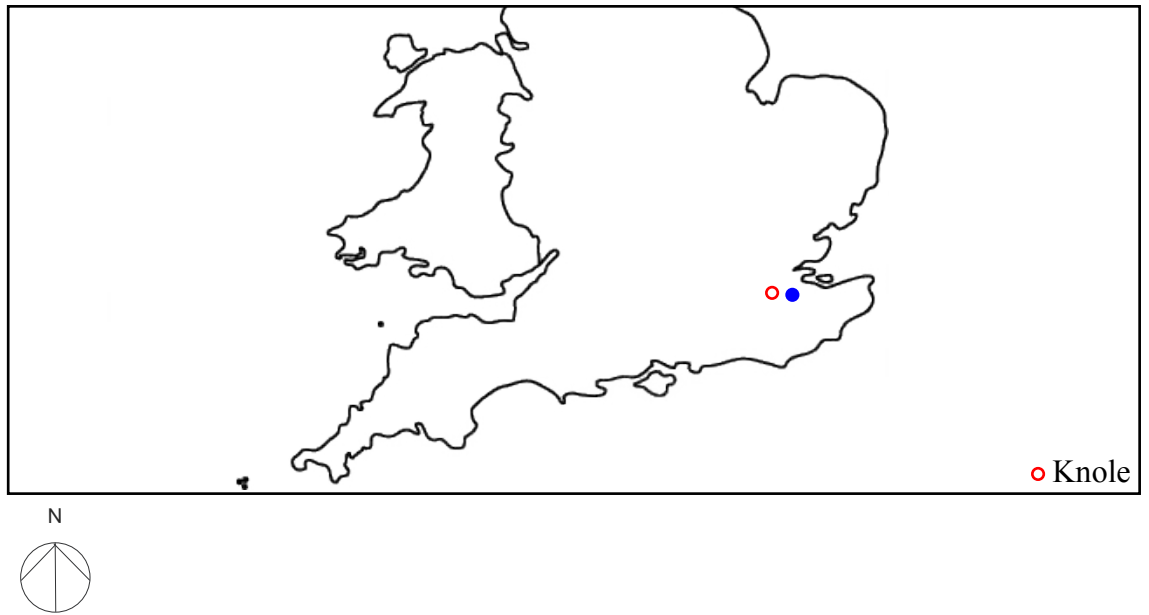


Figure 21: Ightham Mote, Kent. (*Author*)

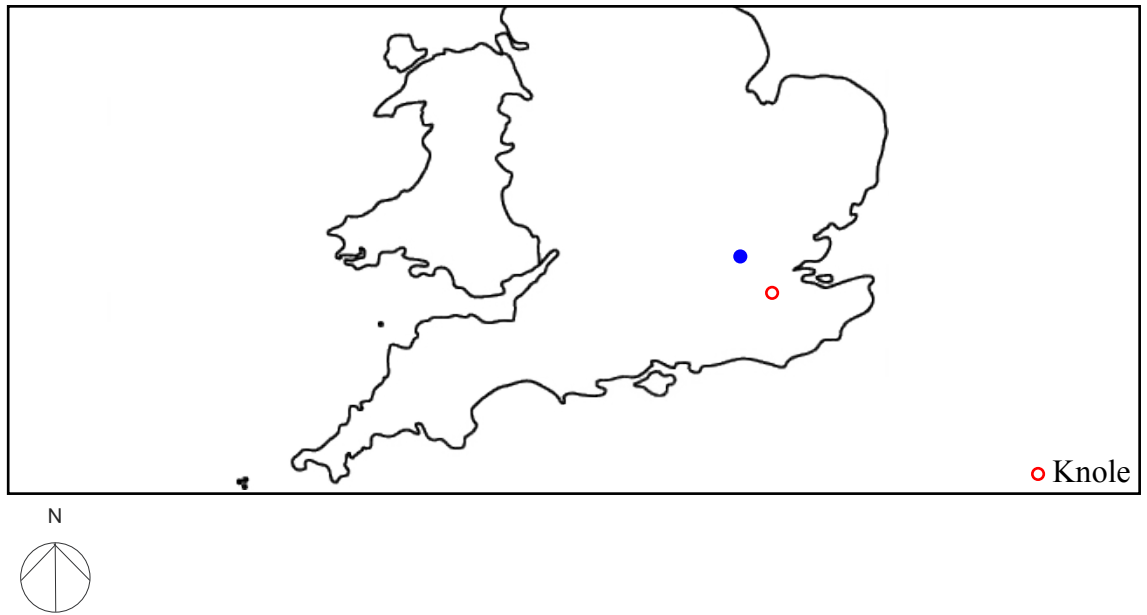


Figure 22: Hatfield Old Palace, Hertfordshire. (*Author*)

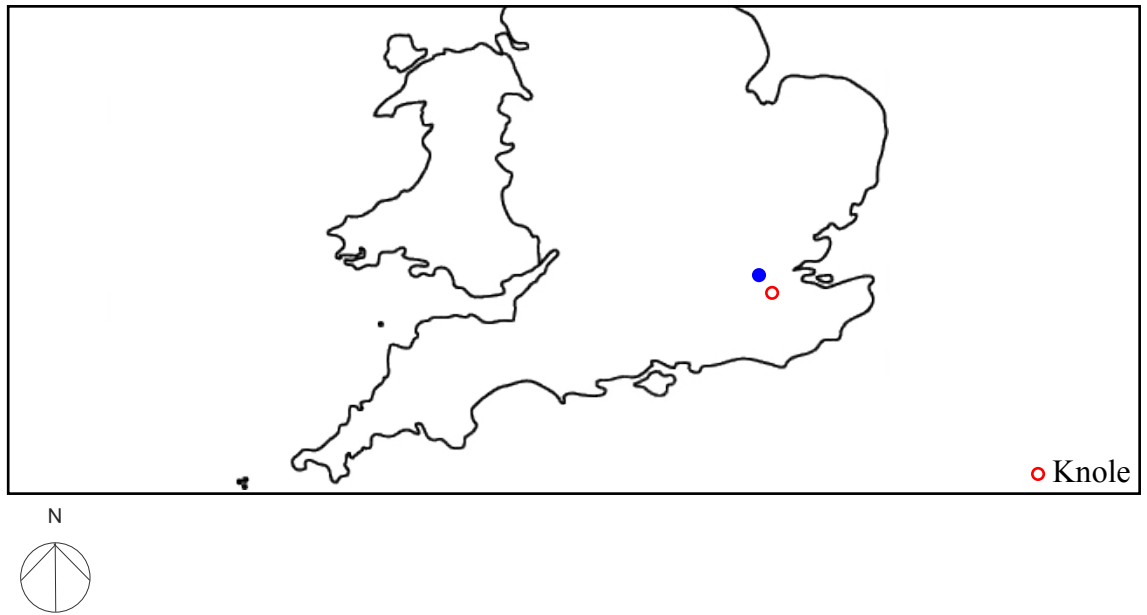


Figure 23: Morton's Gate, Lambeth Palace. (*Author*)

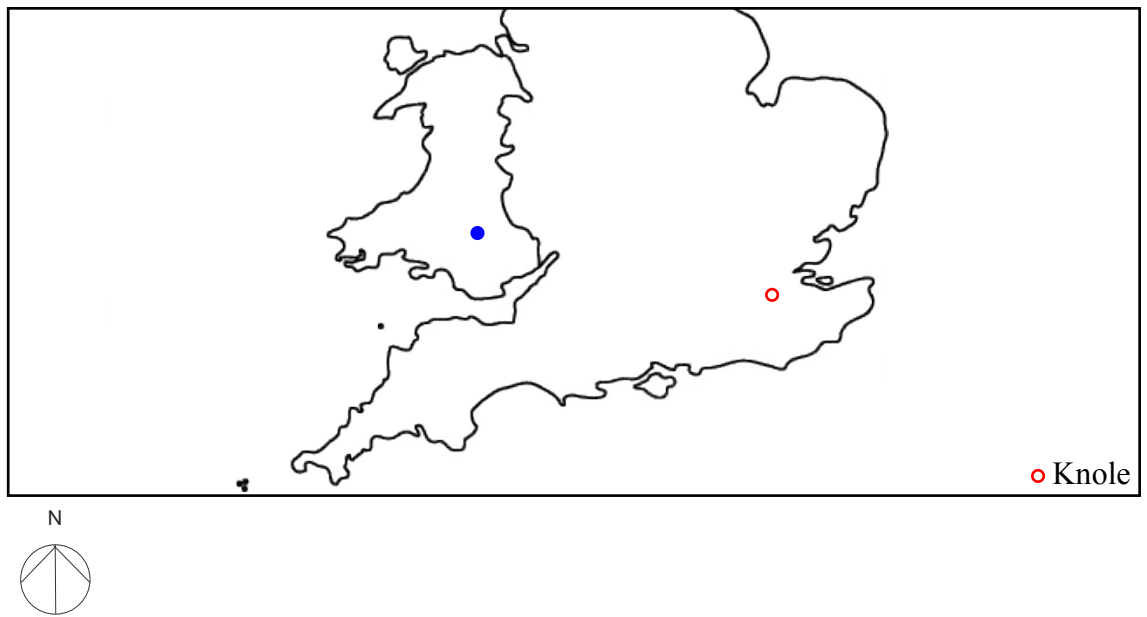


Figure 24: Tretower Court, Wales. (*Author*)

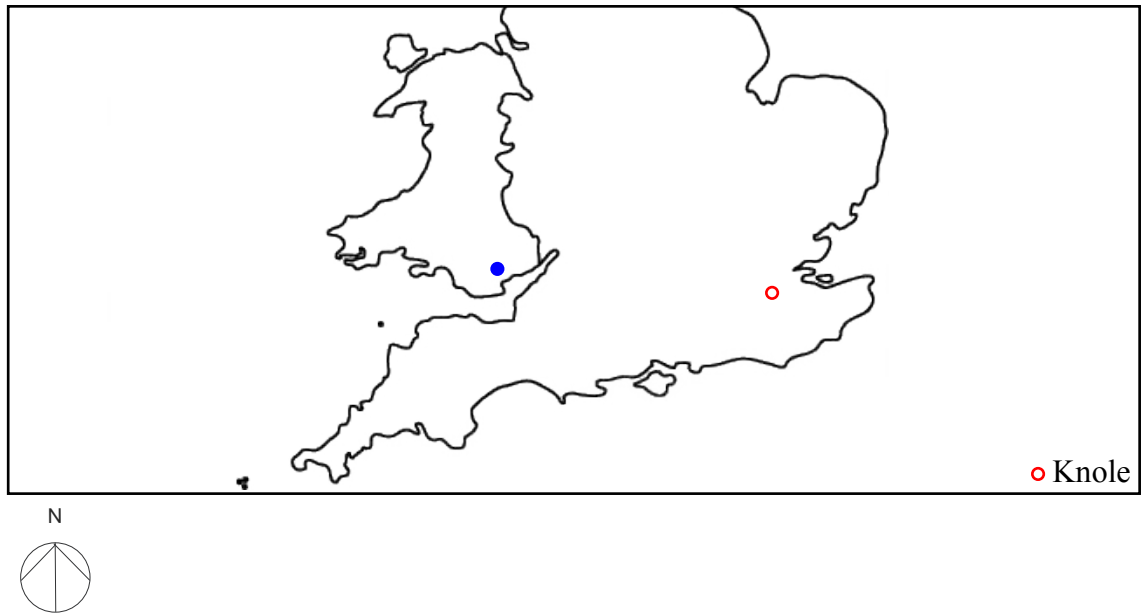


Figure 25: Pencoed Castle, nr. Newport, Wales. (*Laurie Oliver*)

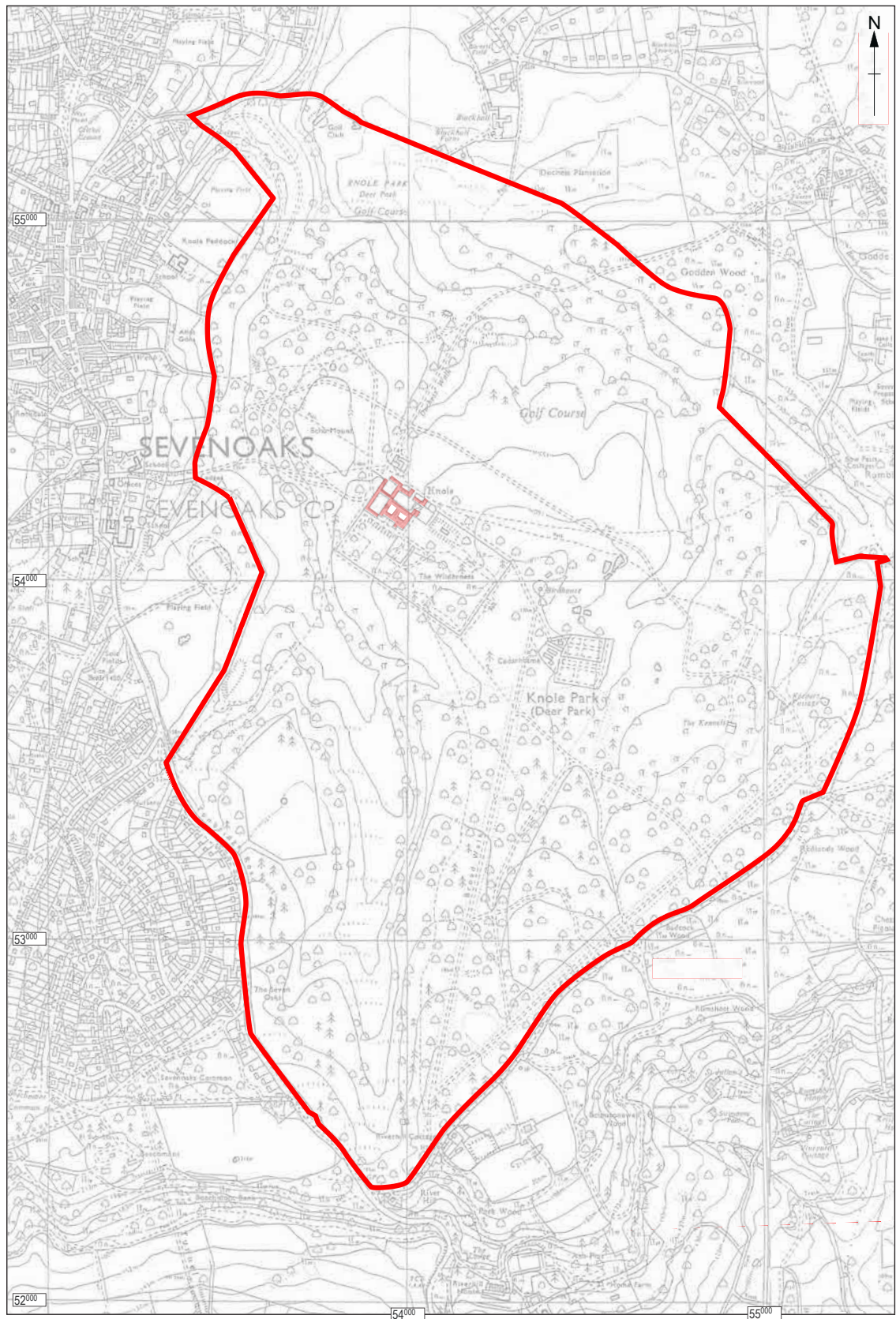


Figure 26: Knole, Kent. Showing park boundary. (*Ordnance Survey*)

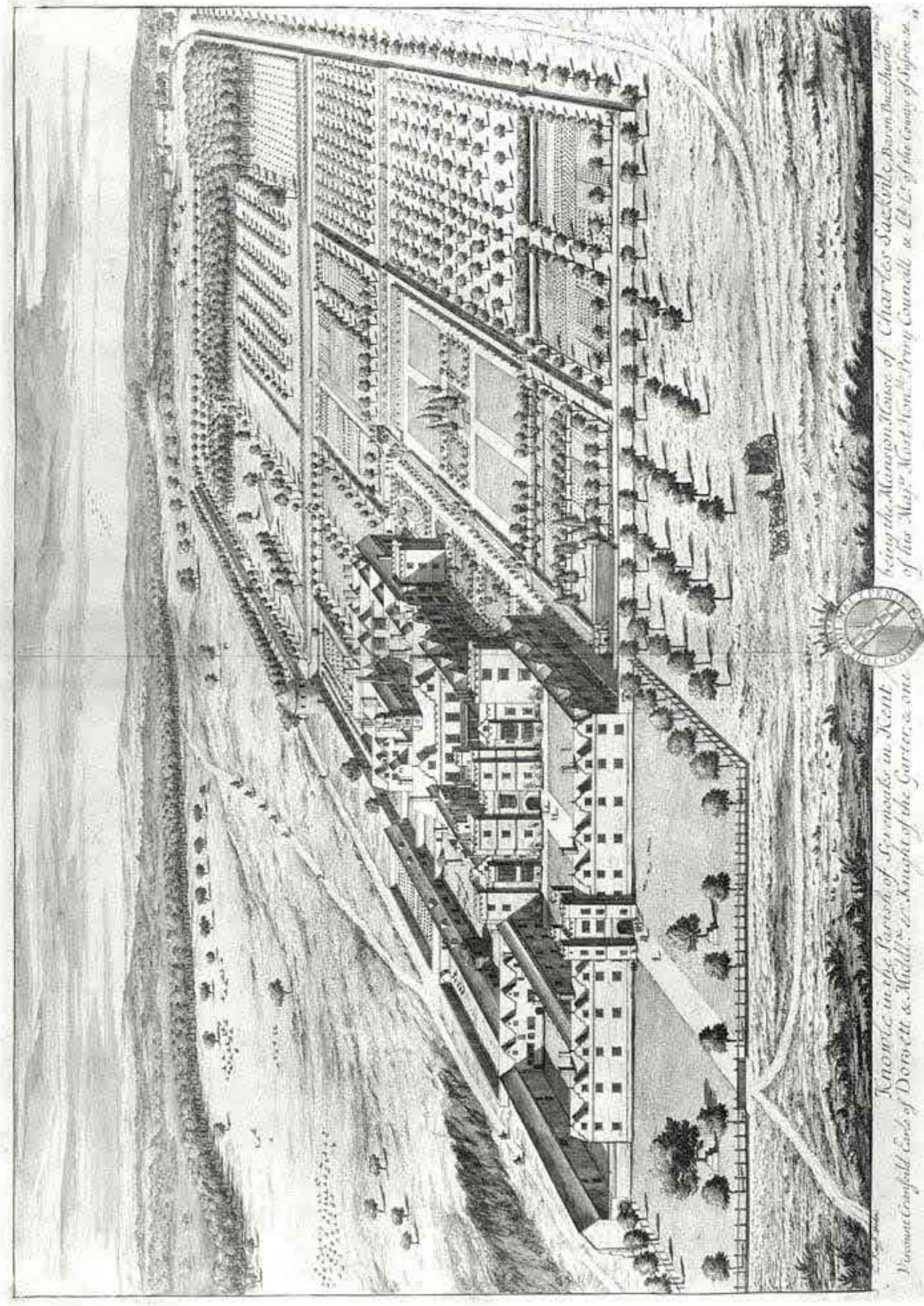


Figure 27: Knole, by Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff for *Britannia Illustrata*, or views of several of the Queens Palaces as also of the seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain published in 1709

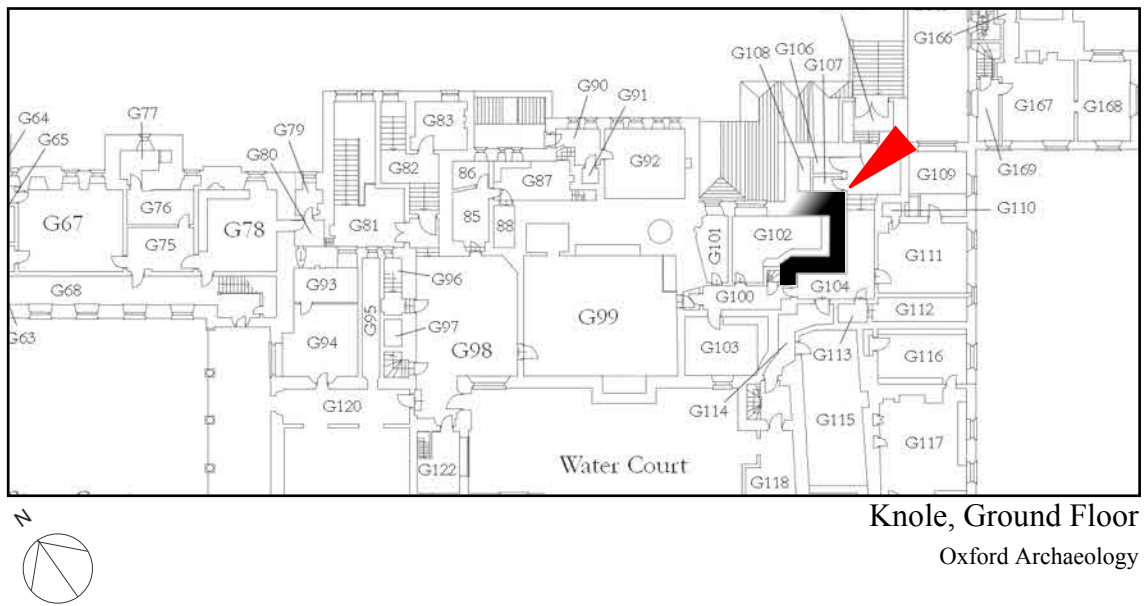


Figure 28: Plinth line defining north-west corner tower (highlighted in black on plan).
(Author)

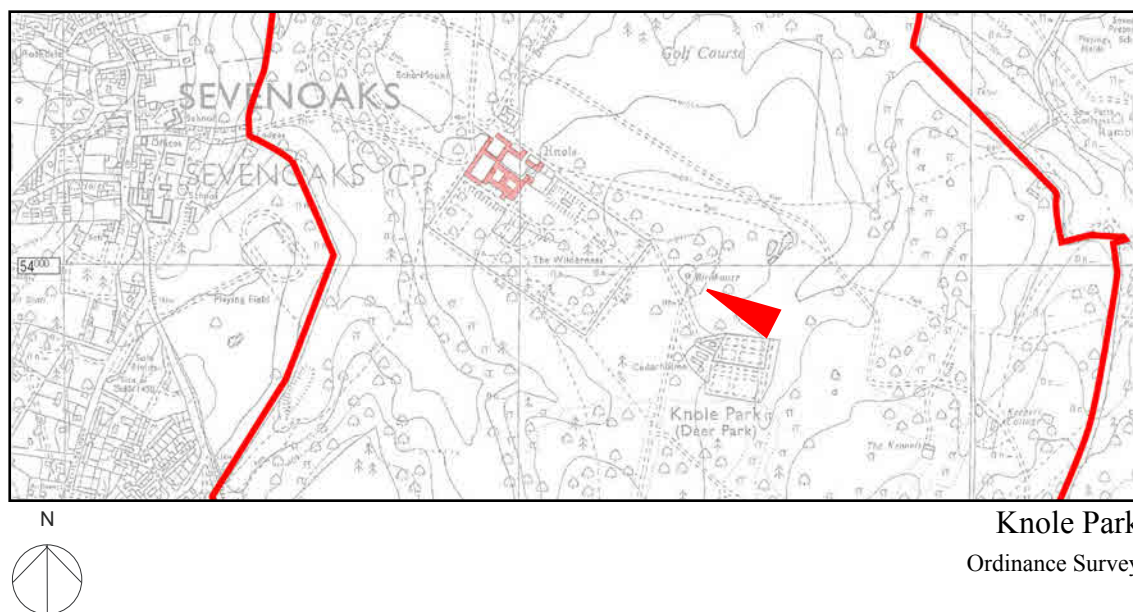


Figure 29: The Birdhouse cottage (c.1761) with ‘folly’ in the foreground. (*Author*)

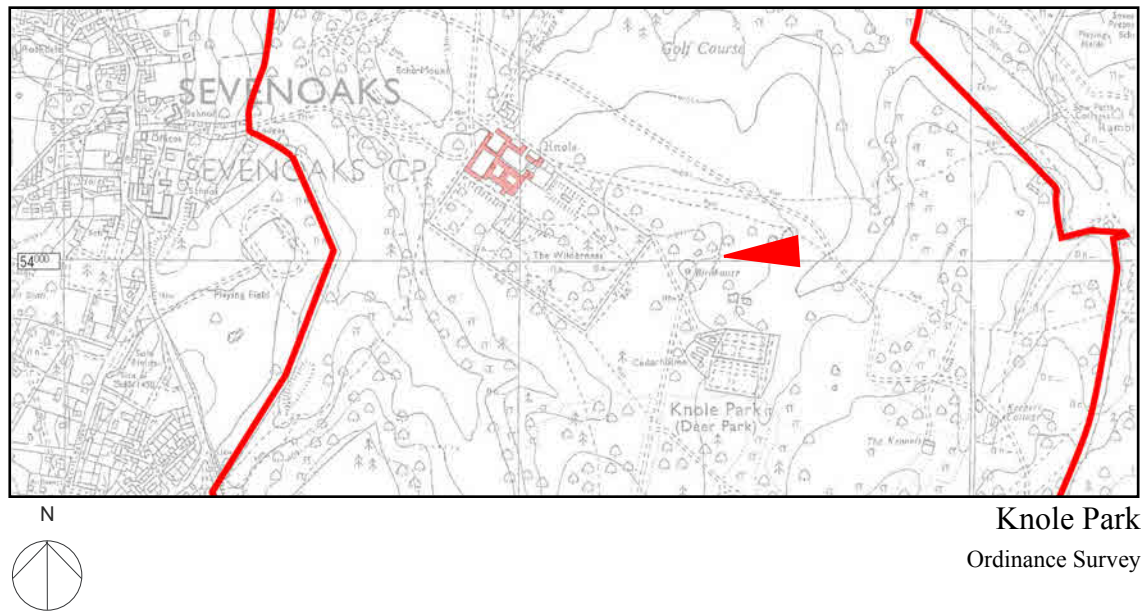


Figure 30: The Birdhouse site showing northern extent of ‘ruin’ with corner buttress and sub-surface features. (*Author*)

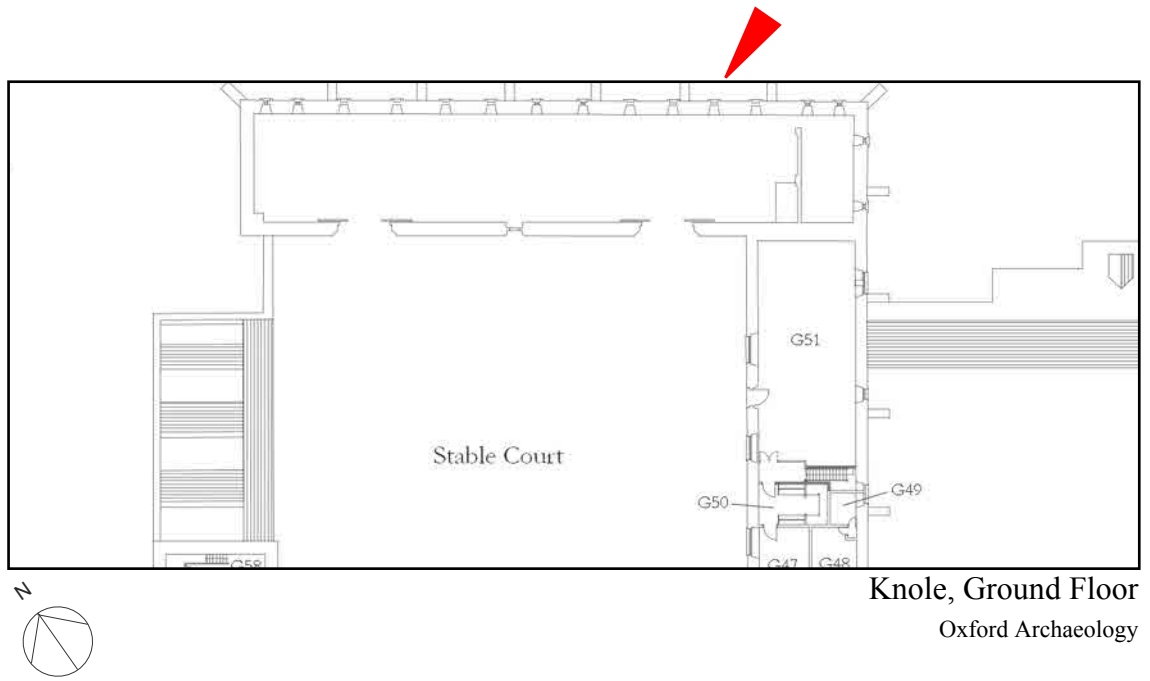
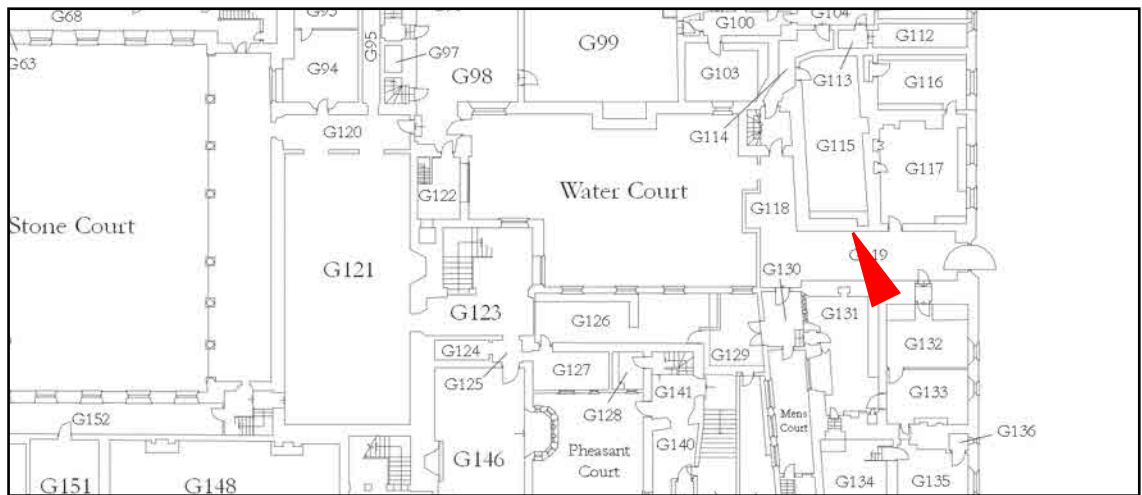


Figure 31: The Barn, Knole. (*Author*)



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Figure 32: Jamb of former gateway arch in Still Room Passage. (*Author*)

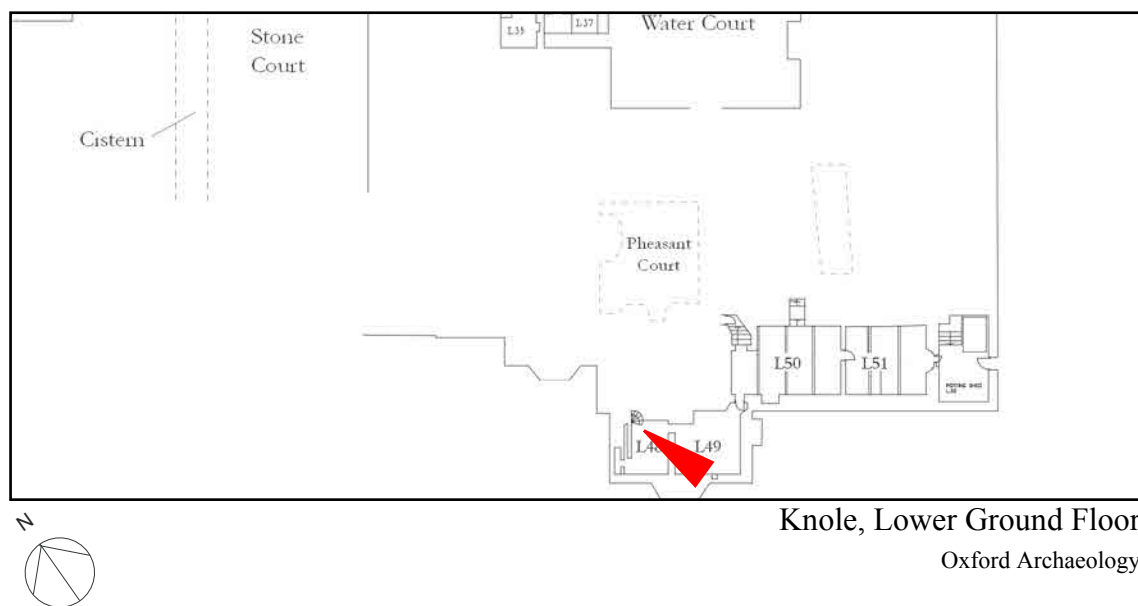


Figure 33: Lower steps of truncated newel stair below Duke's Tower, Knole. (*Author*)

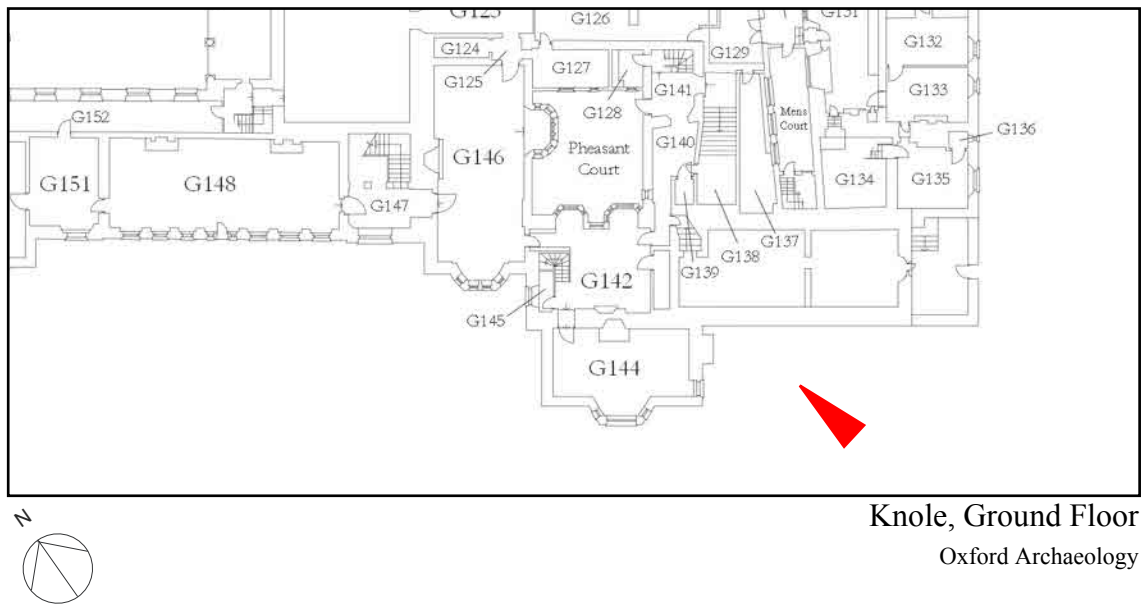


Figure 34: Return between the Dukes Tower (on left) and the Chapel (right) showing recessed window. (*Author*)

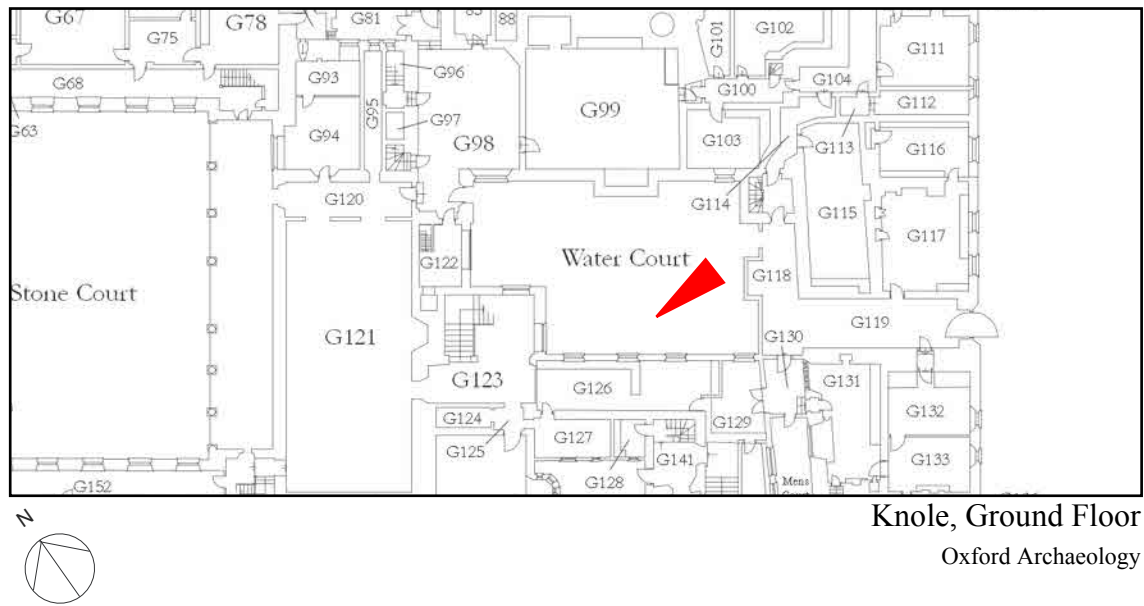
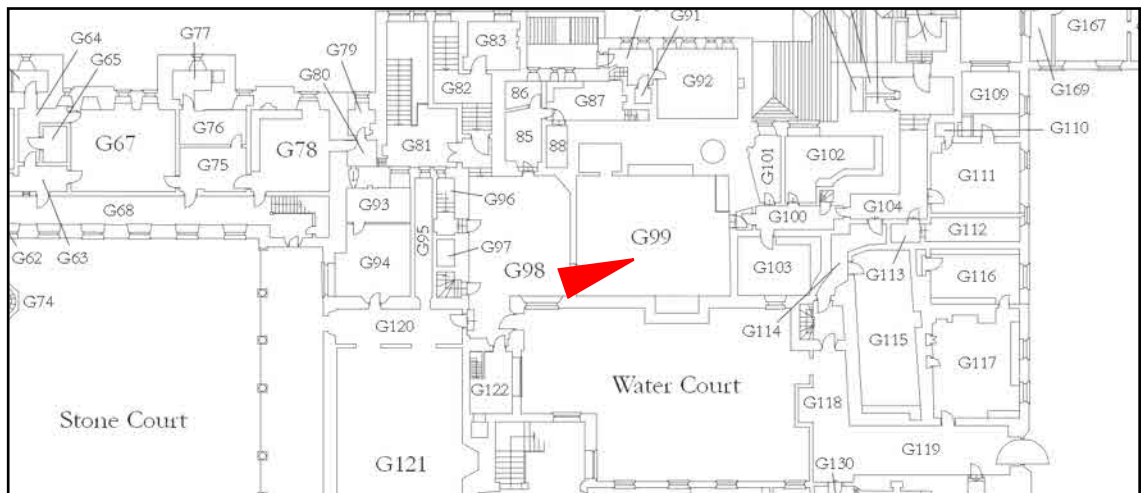


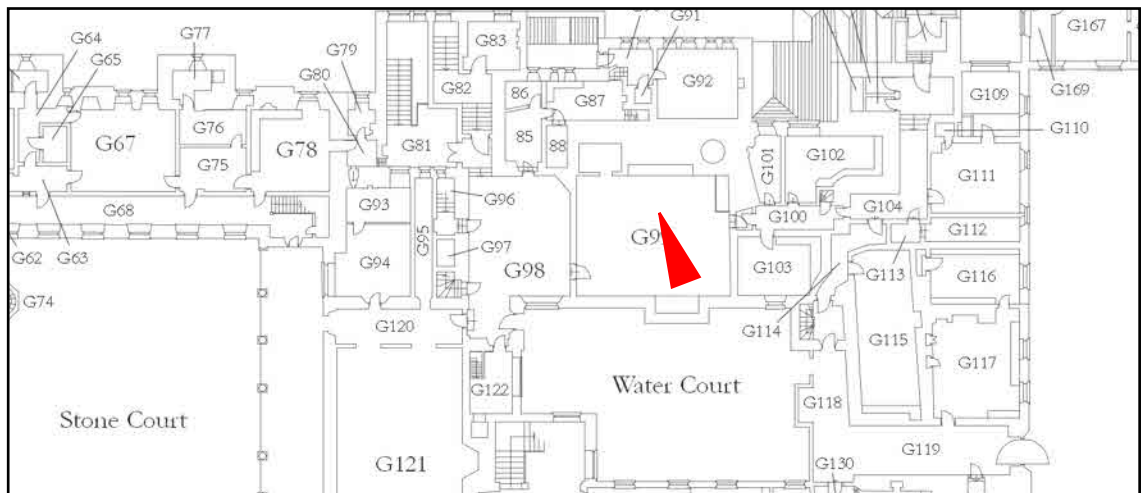
Figure 35: Arcaded Chapel Corridor. The arcade was originally open, the glazing being a later insertion. (*Author*)



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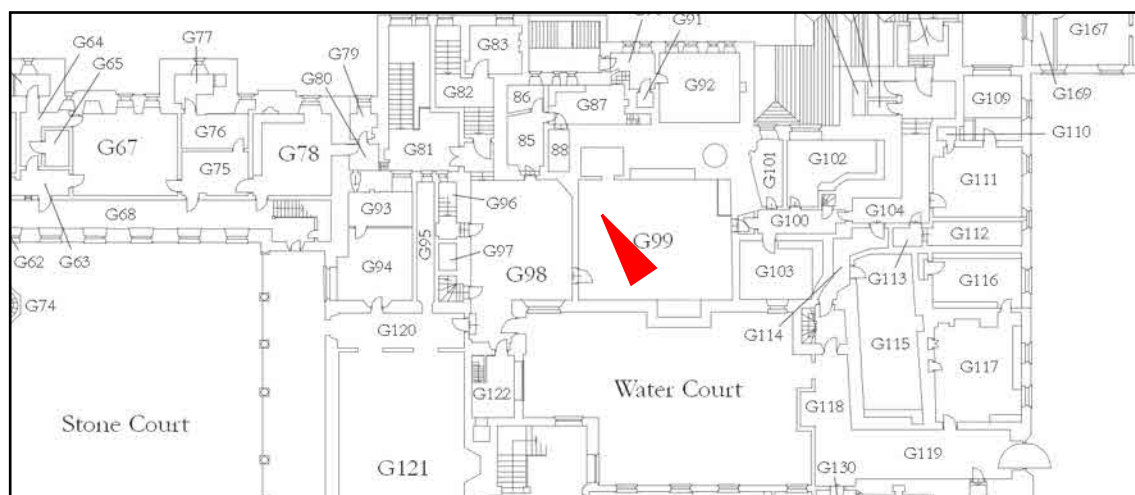
Figure 36: Fifteenth-century arch brace roof in Knole's Kitchen. (*Author*)



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Figure 37: Kitchens north wall, showing corbels and blocked window (marked by dotted line). (*Author*)



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Figure 38: Blocked fireplace in north-west corner of Kitchen. (*Author*)

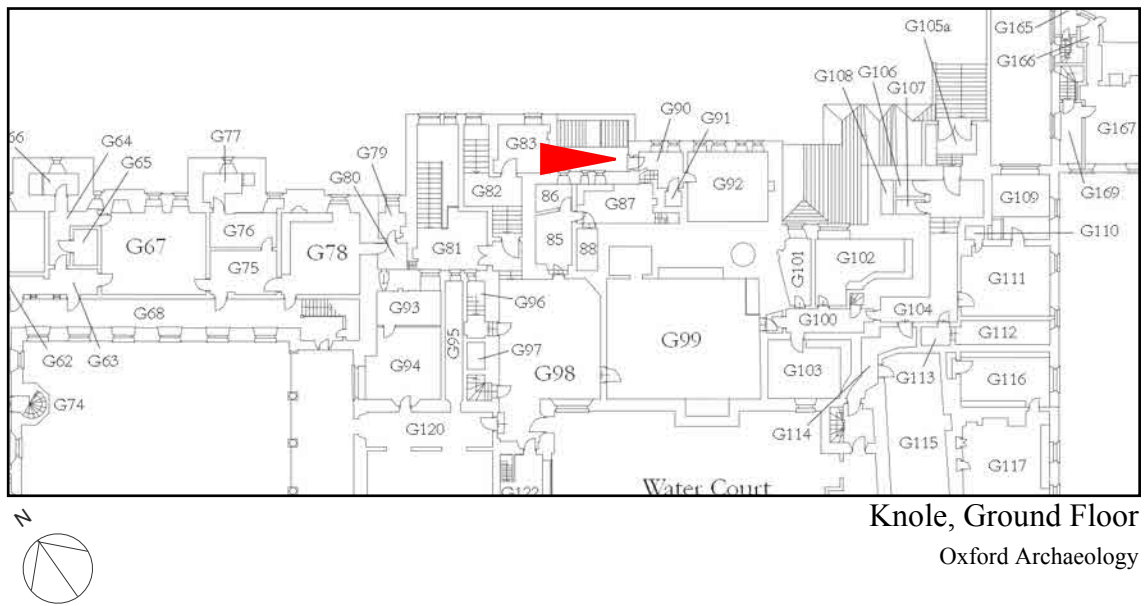
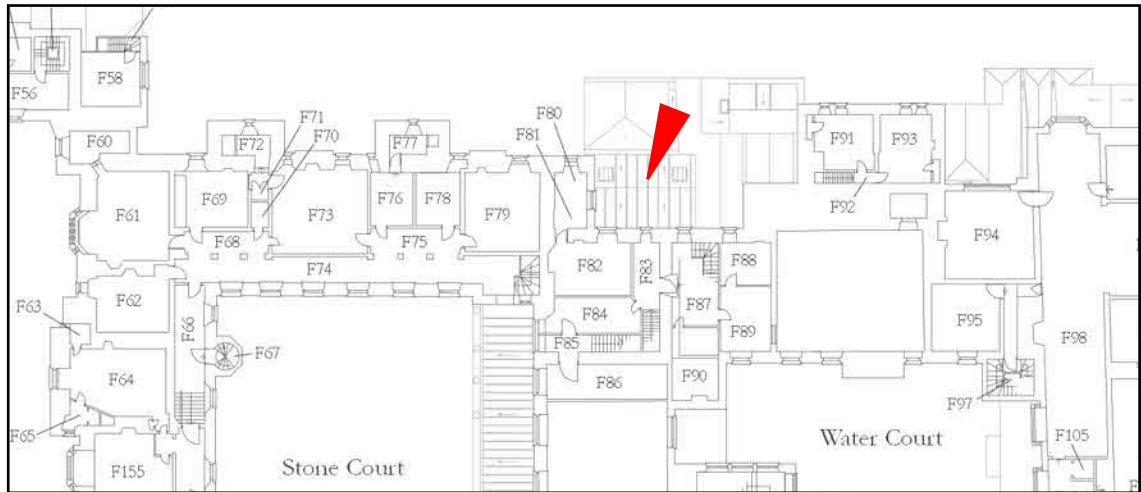


Figure 40: Fifteenth-century Type 1 doorway into Queen's Court Flat. (*Author*)



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Figure 41: Corbels on north range, seen from Queen's Court. (Author)

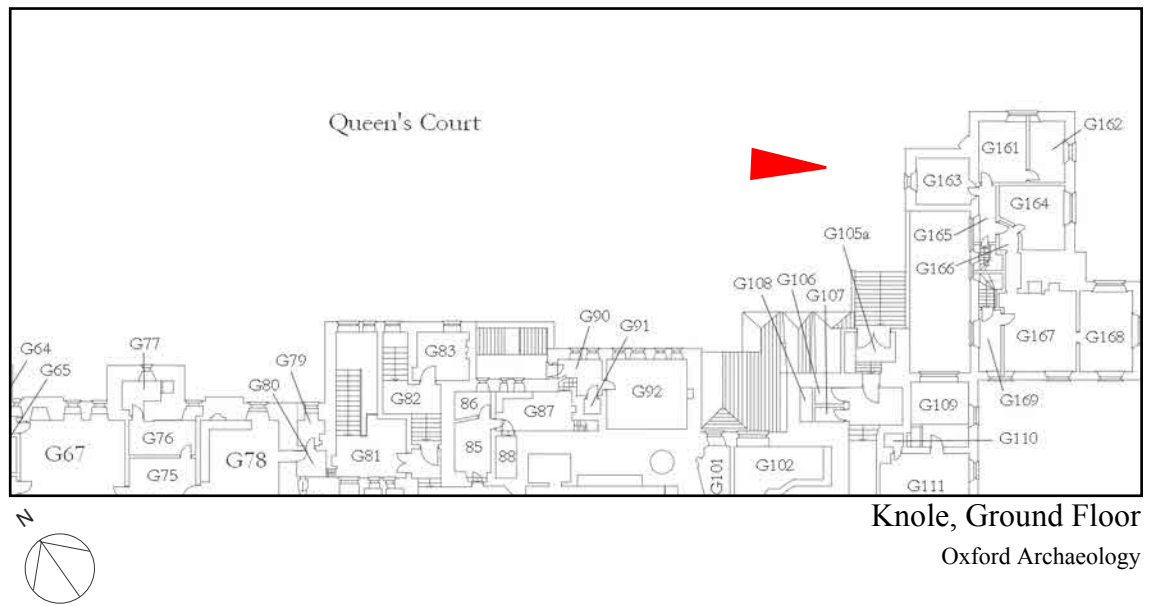


Figure 42: Laundry Cottage. Showing small 'medieval' type window on ground floor of projecting range. (*Author*)

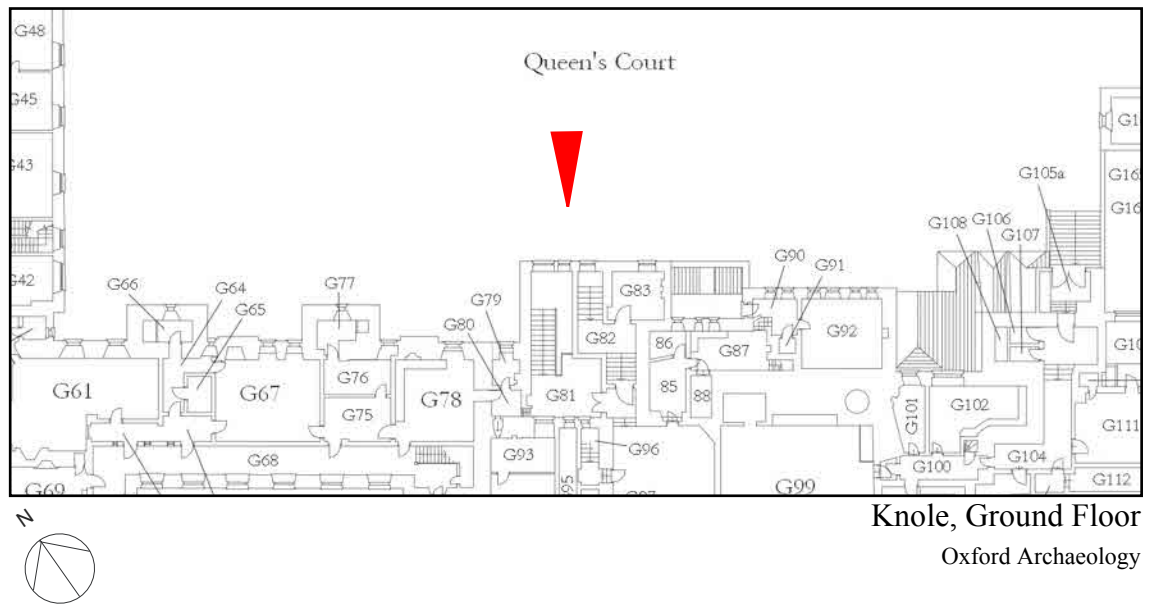


Figure 43: Double entrance door, Queen's Court. (*Author*)

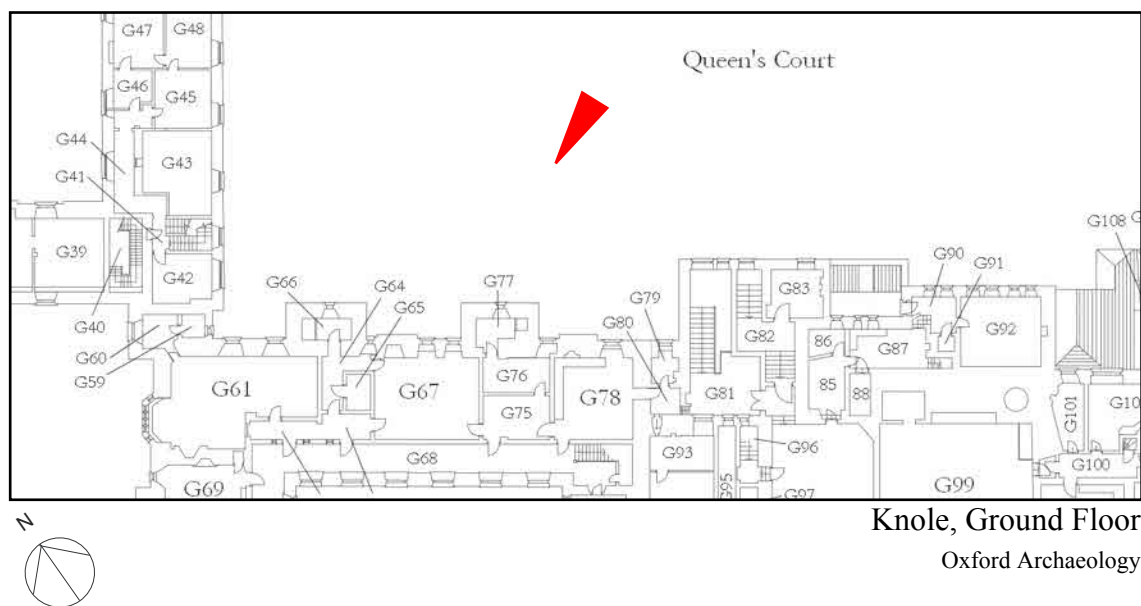
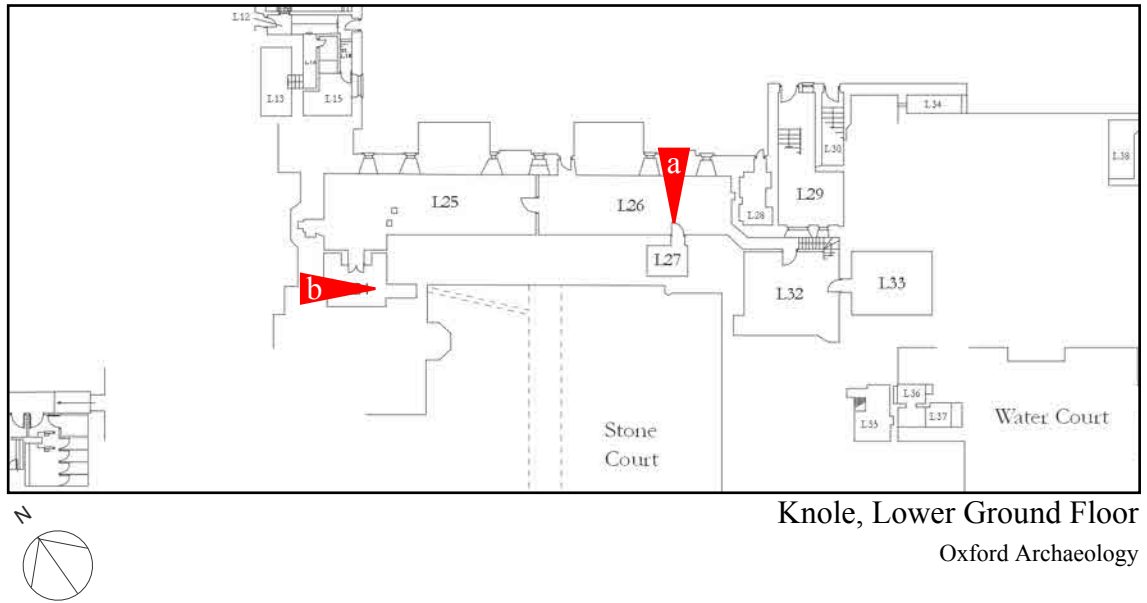


Figure 44: North range, seen from Queen's Court. Showing garderobe towers. (*Author*)



a



b

Figure 45: Doors in the north range cellar. Possibly formerly external. (*Author*)

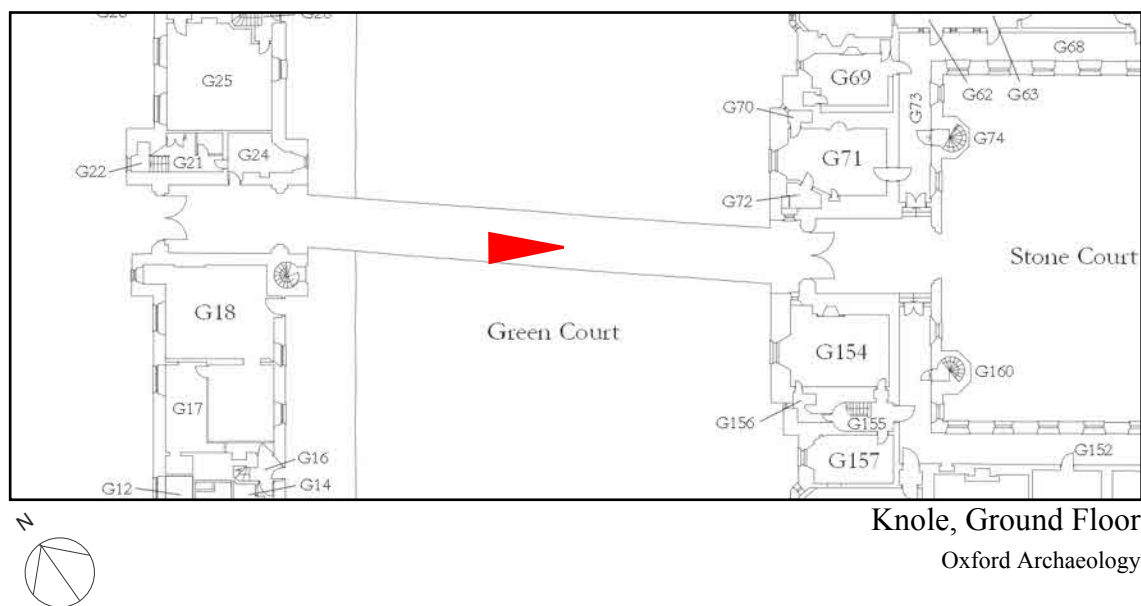
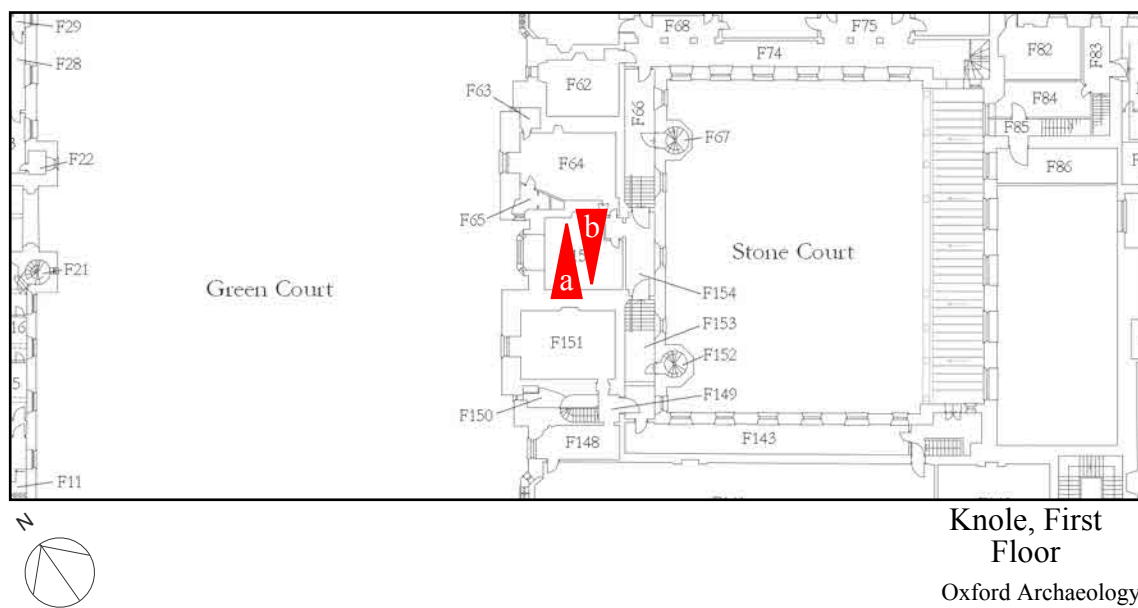


Figure 46: Bouchier's Tower. (*Author*)



a



b

Figure 47: Bouchier's heraldic corbels with badges in Bouchier's Room. (*Author*)

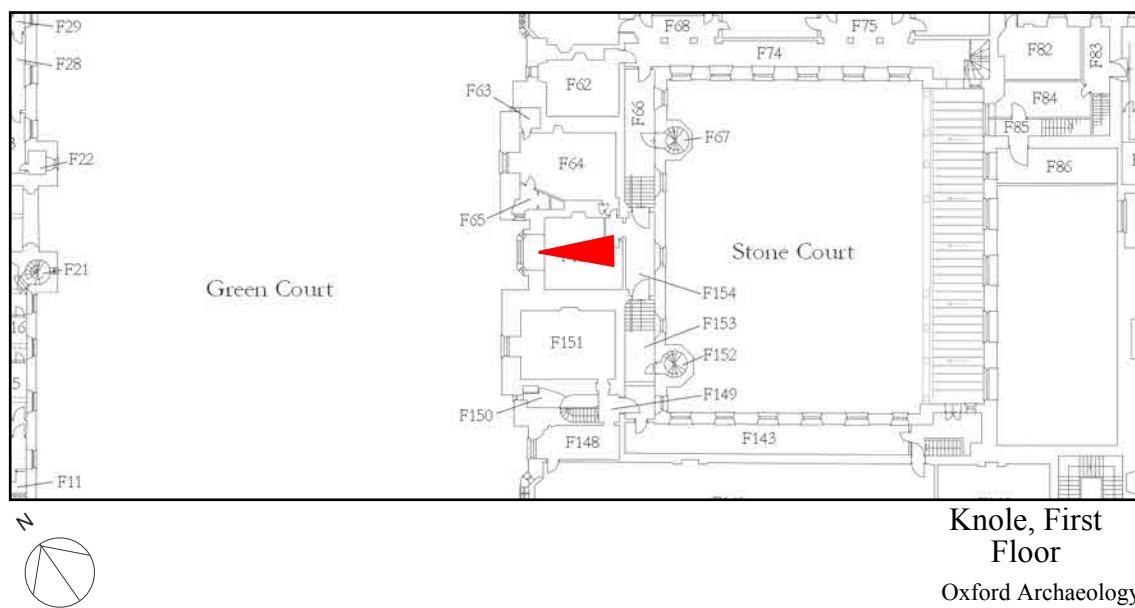


Figure 48: Interior of the oriel window in Bouchier's Room. (*Author*)

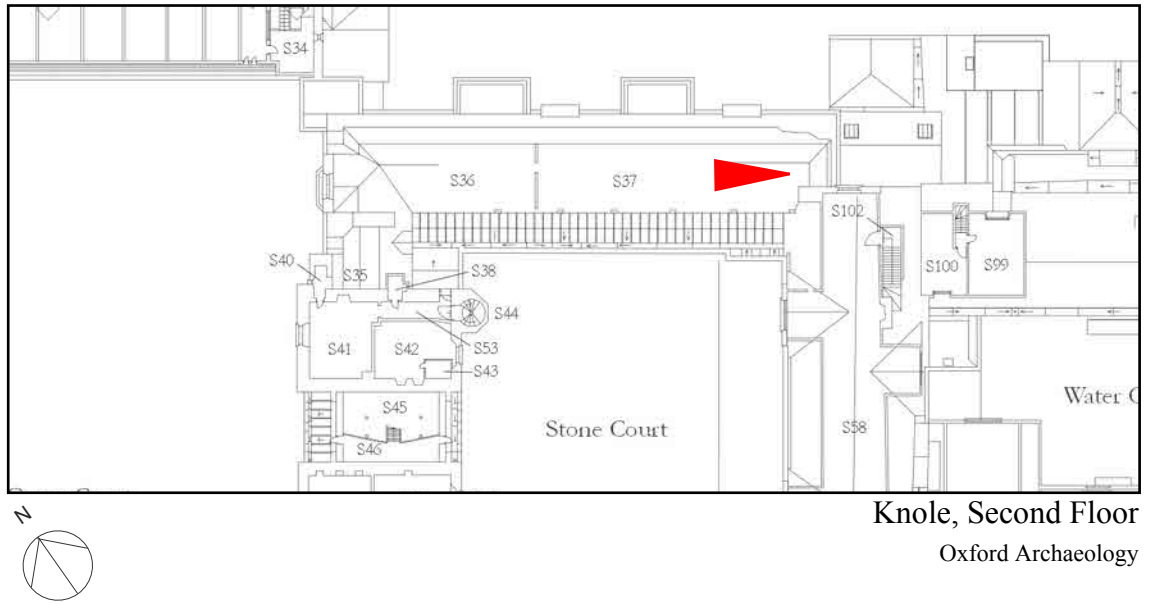


Figure 49: Moulded timber roof truss (mid-fifteenth century) above the North Range, Stone Court. (*Author*)

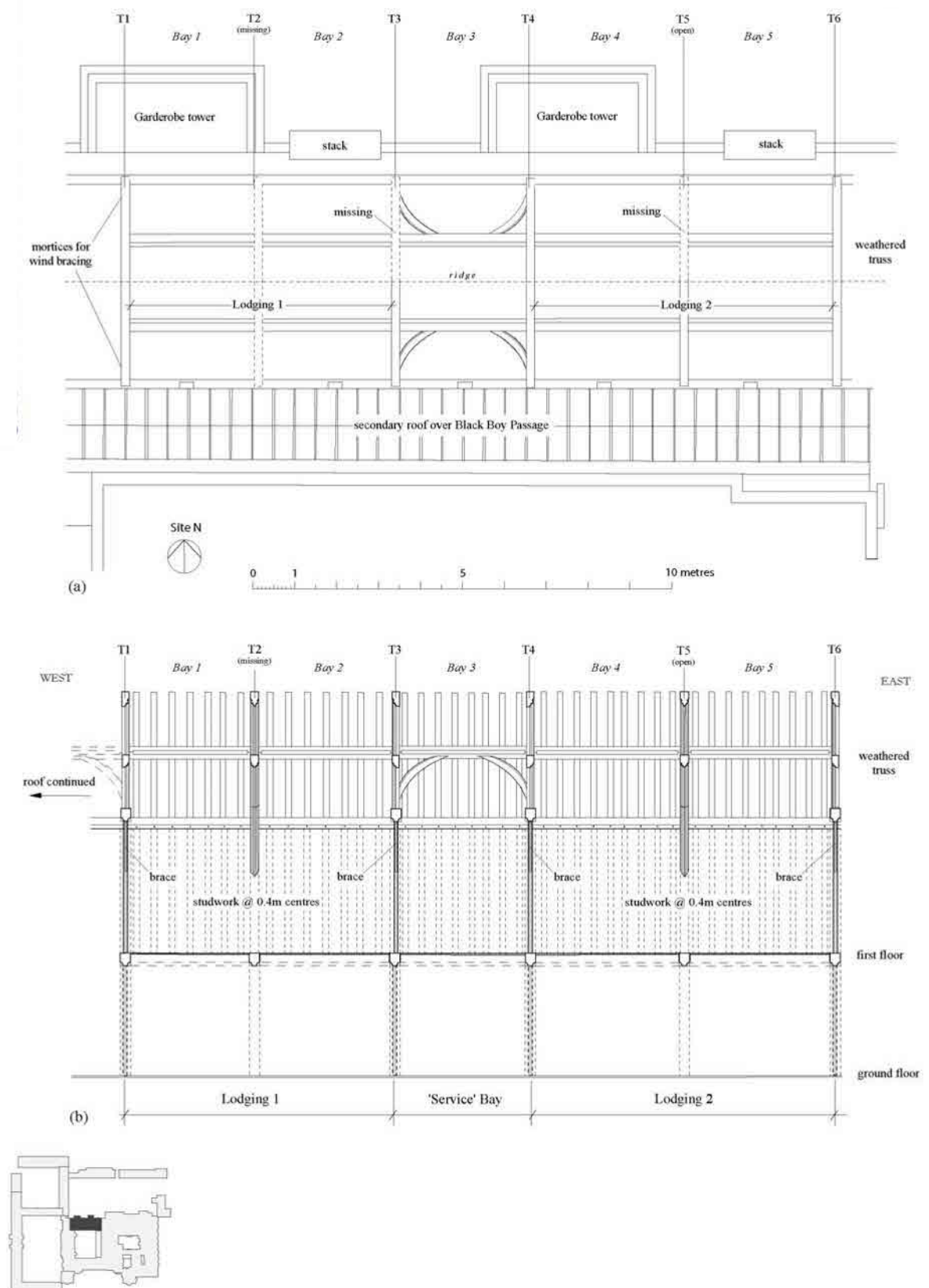


Figure 50: North Range, Stone Court - Roof details. (a) Plan and (b) interpretive long section. (*Oxford Archaeology*)

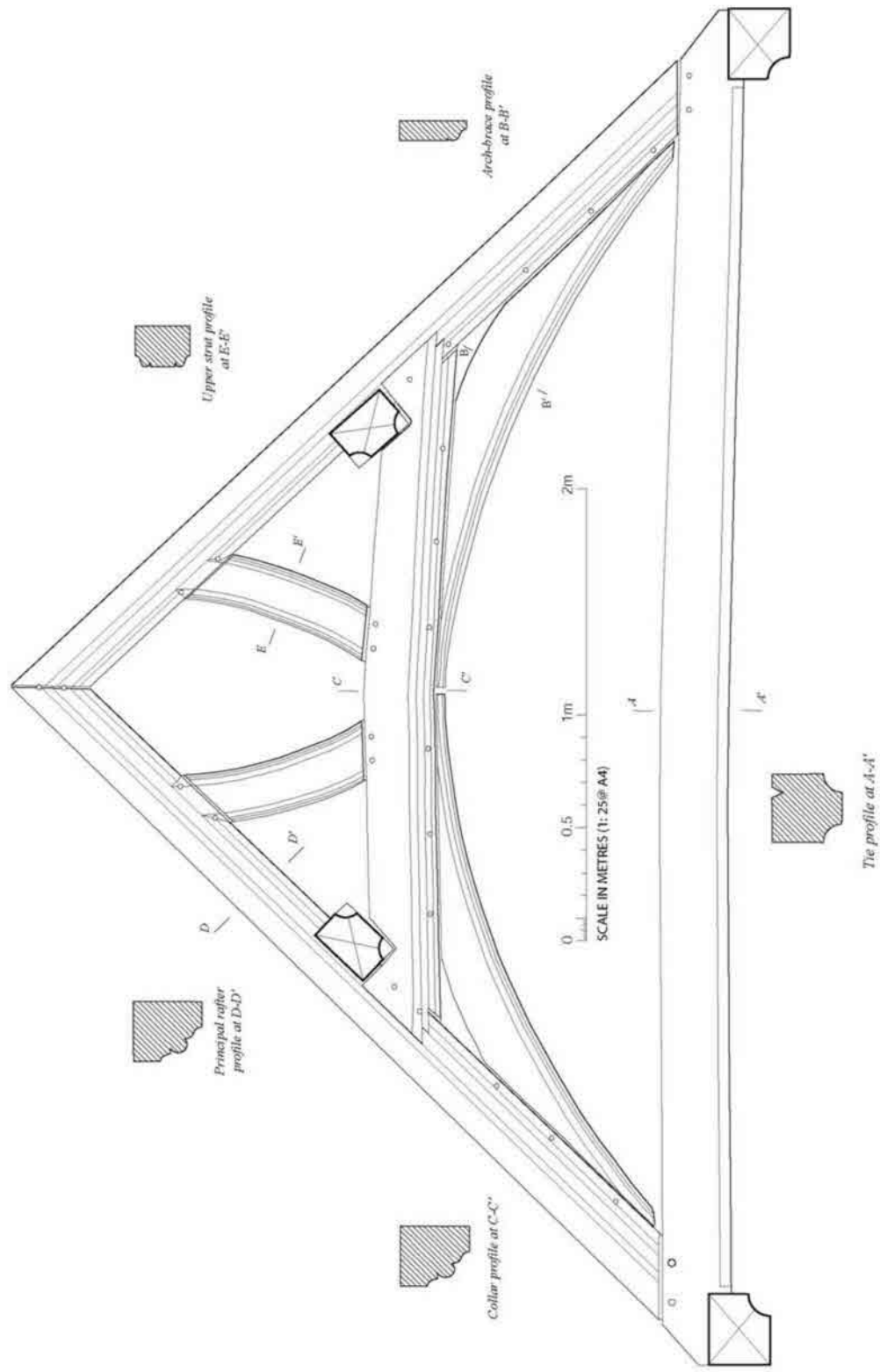
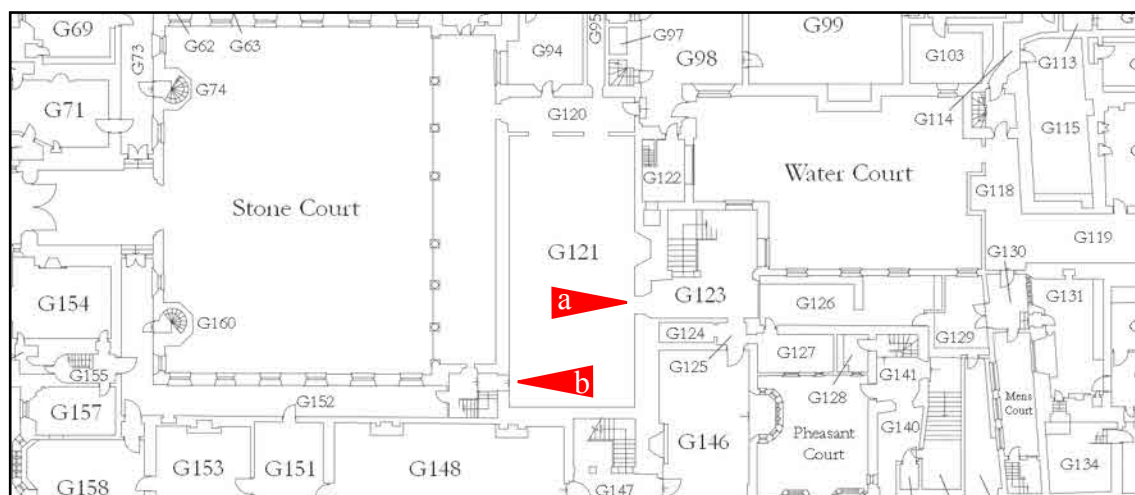


Figure 51: Detail of moulded timber roof truss (mid-fifteenth century) above the North Range, Stone Court. (*Oxford Archaeology*)



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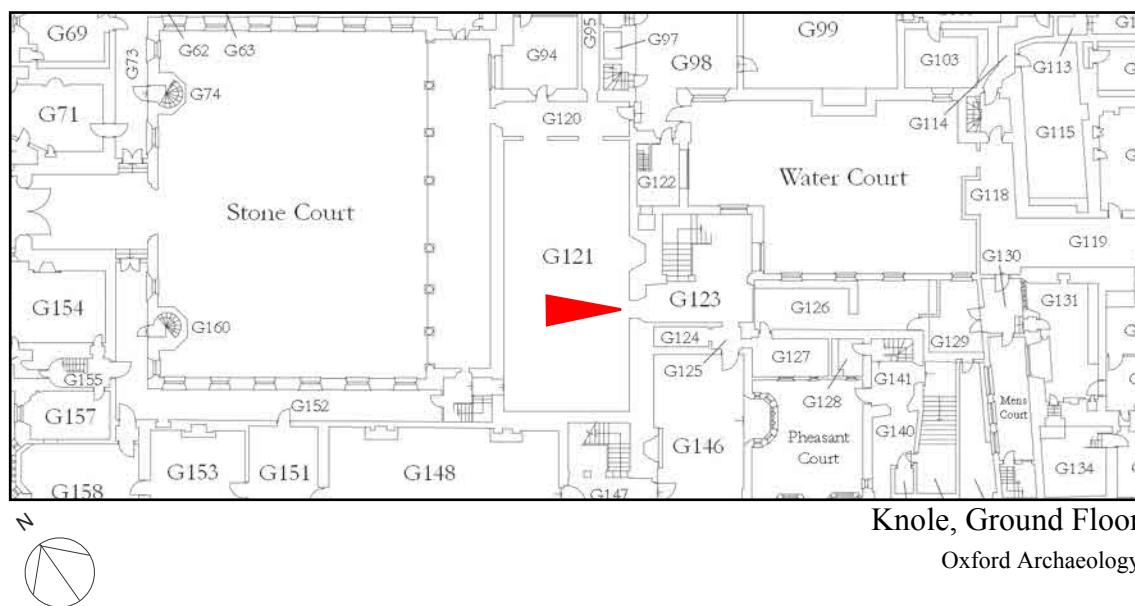


a



b

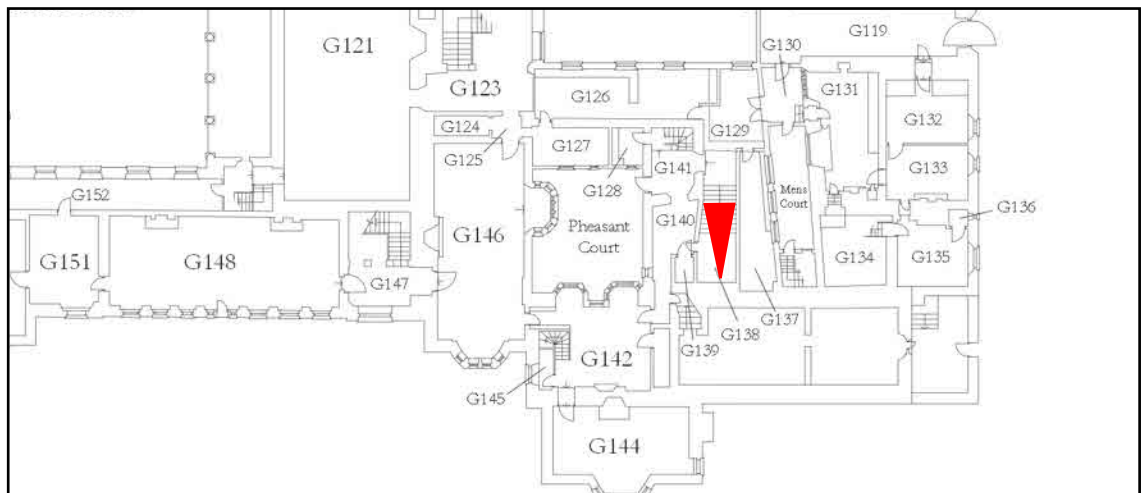
Figure 52: Great Hall doors. (a) East door into Great Stairs and (b) west door into Lead Stairs. (*Author*)



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Figure 53: Keystone of Great Hall east door showing mason's mark and drafted margins. (*Author*)



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Figure 54: Type 2 door into Chapel. (*Author*)

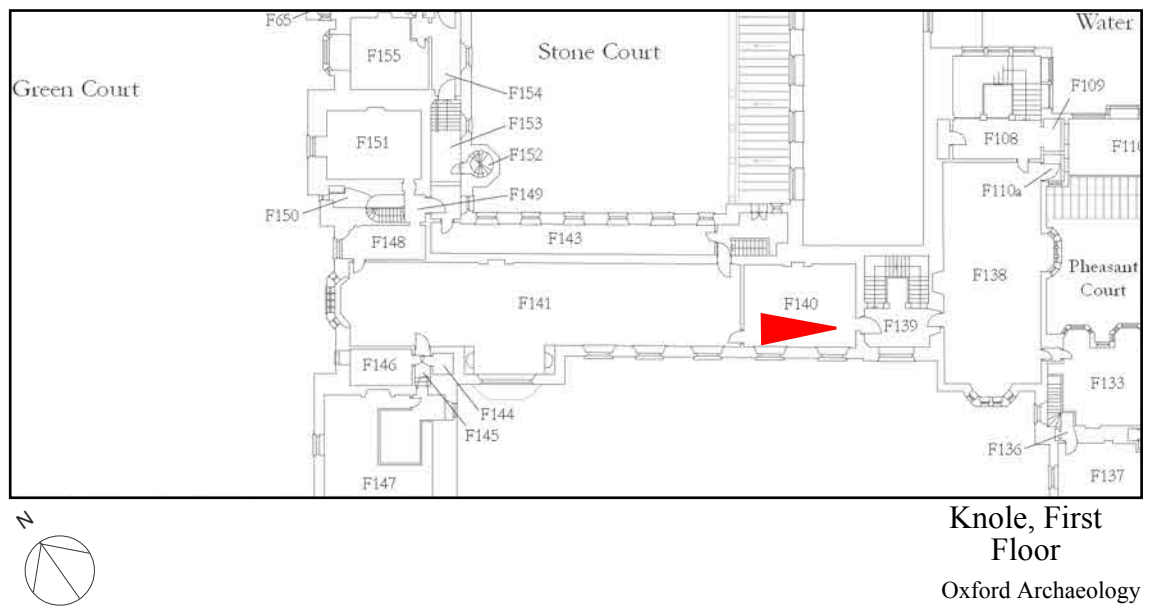
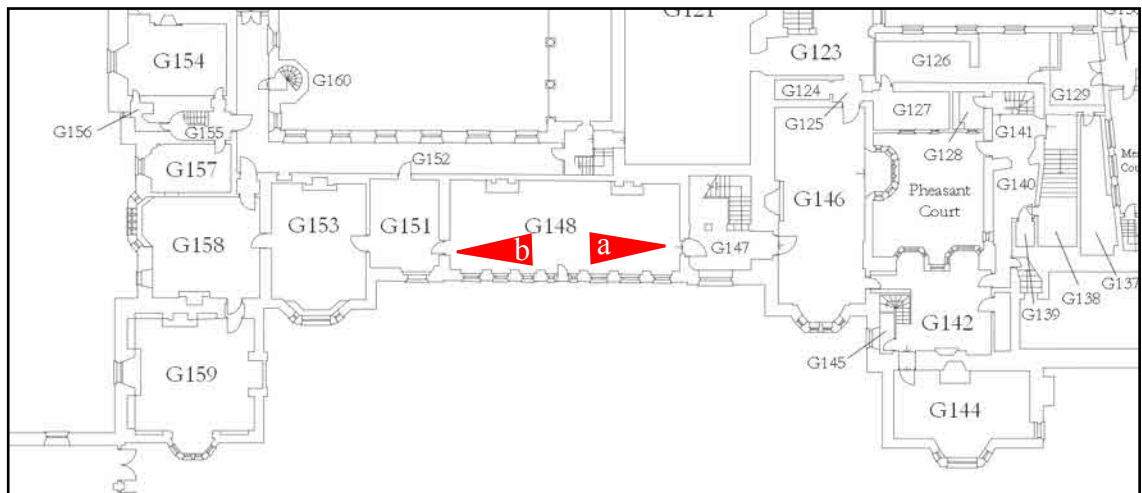
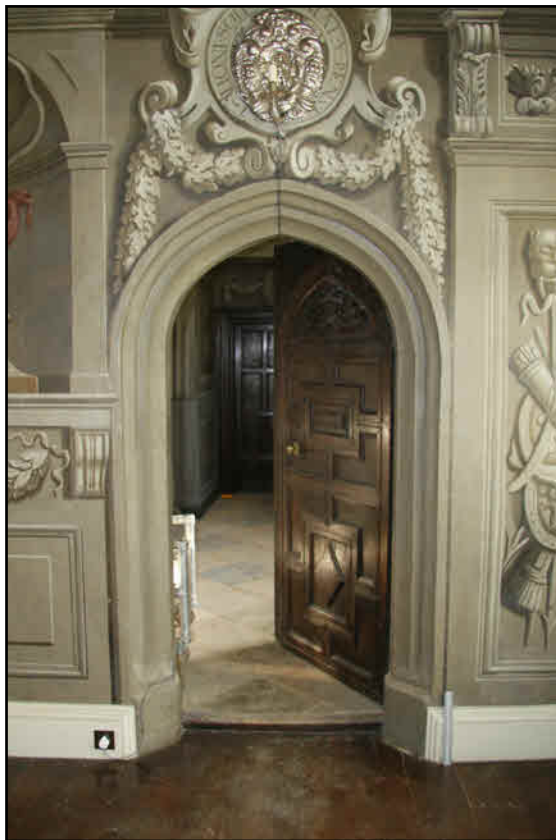


Figure 55: Type 2 door between Reynolds Room and Stone Stairs. (*Author*)



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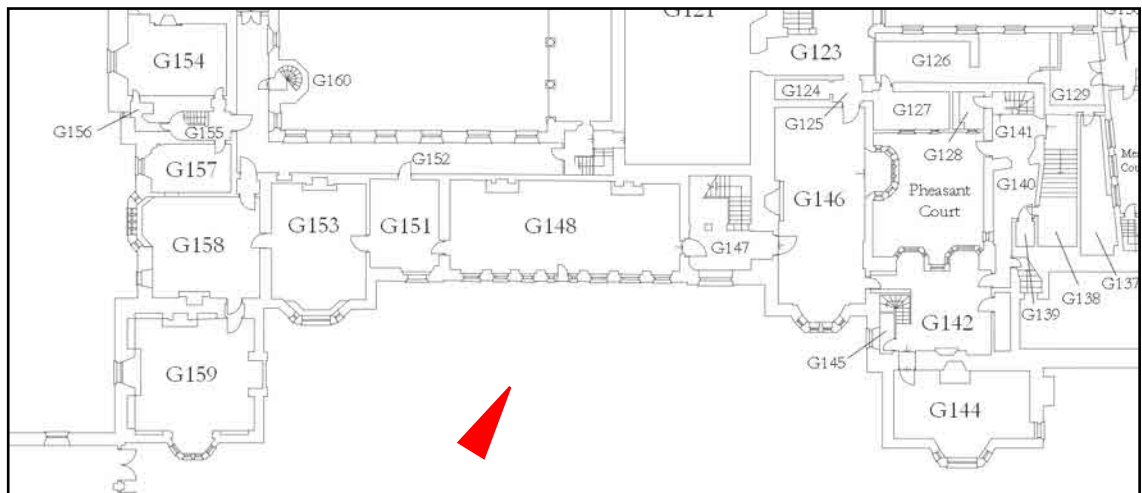


a



b

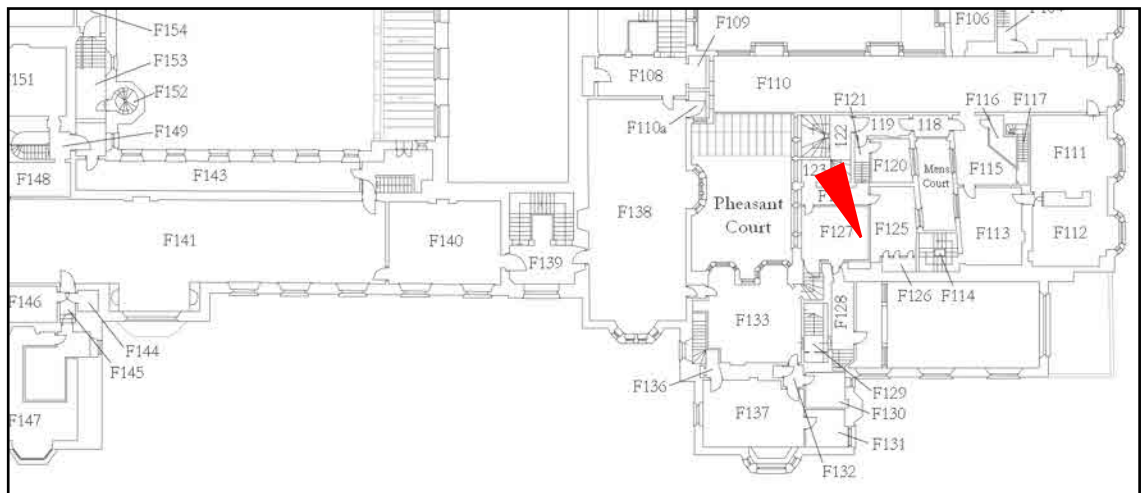
Figure 56: Type 1 doors at either end of Colonnade Room. a) East end into Stone Stairs
b) West end into Guardroom. (*Author*)



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Figure 57: Colonnade (1604-08) seen from the south. (*Author*)



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Figure 58: Organ Room showing, in left-hand corner of the room, the recess that was formerly an open viewing window to the Chapel. (*Pym Album*, c.1890)

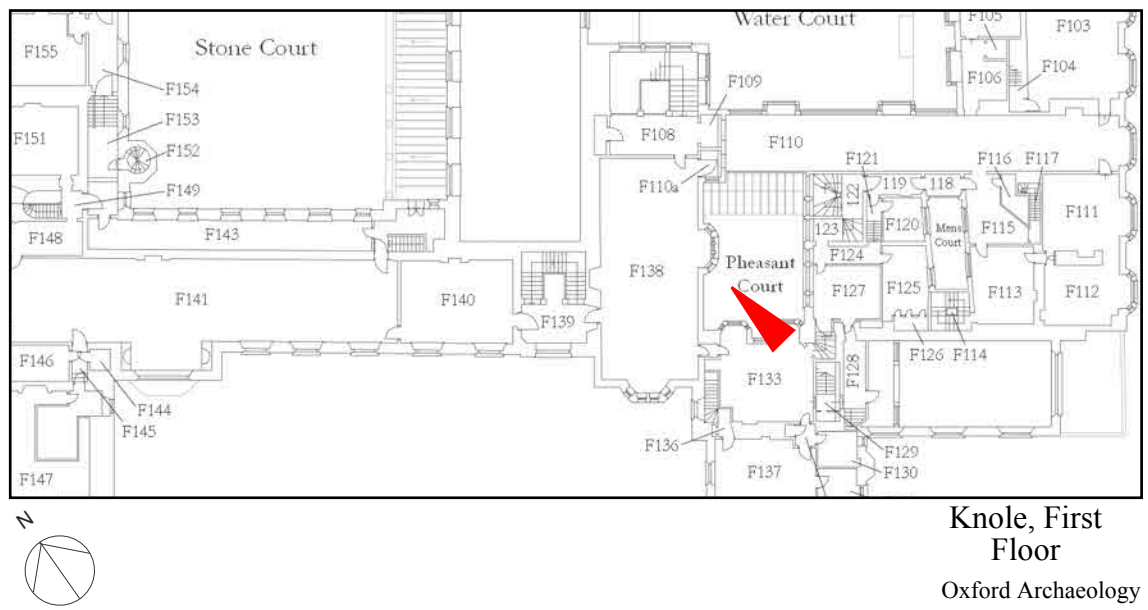
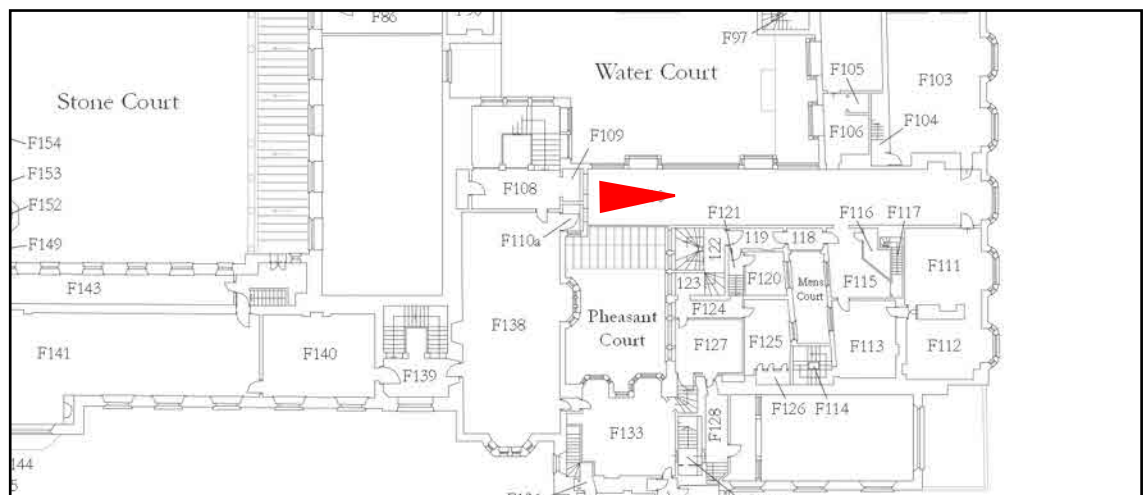


Figure 59: Blocked windows in the east wall of the Ballroom. (*Author*)



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Figure 60: Brown Gallery. (*Author*)

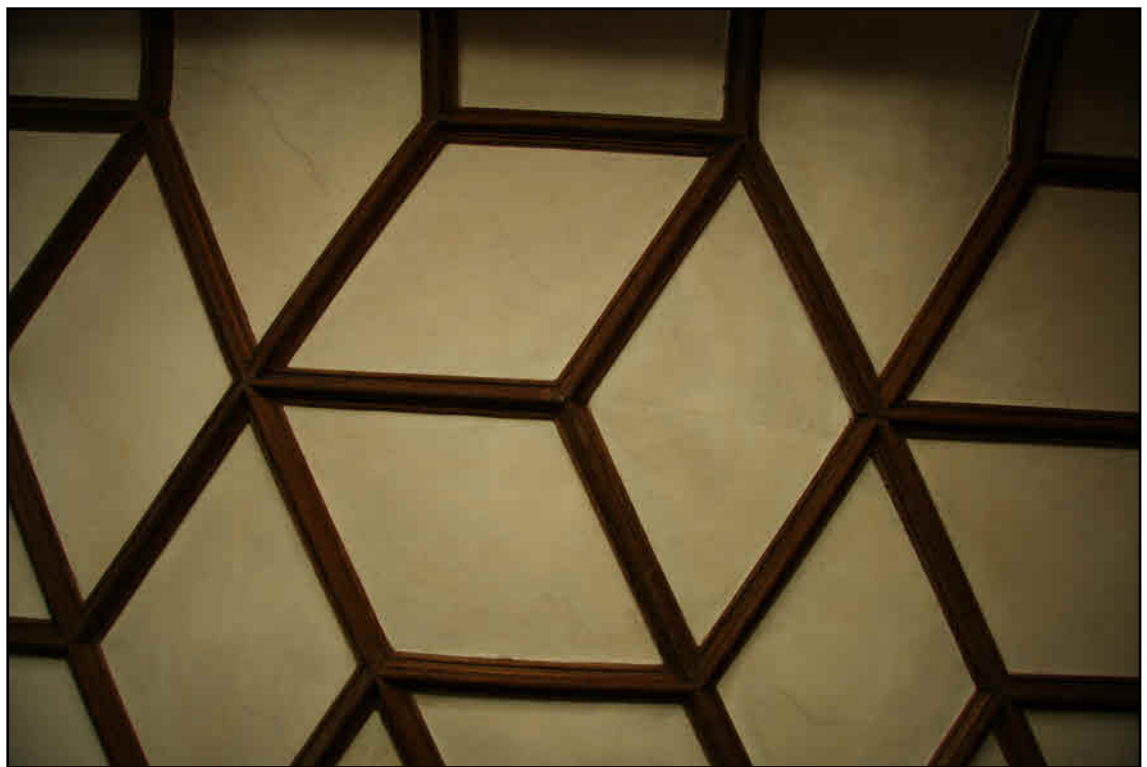
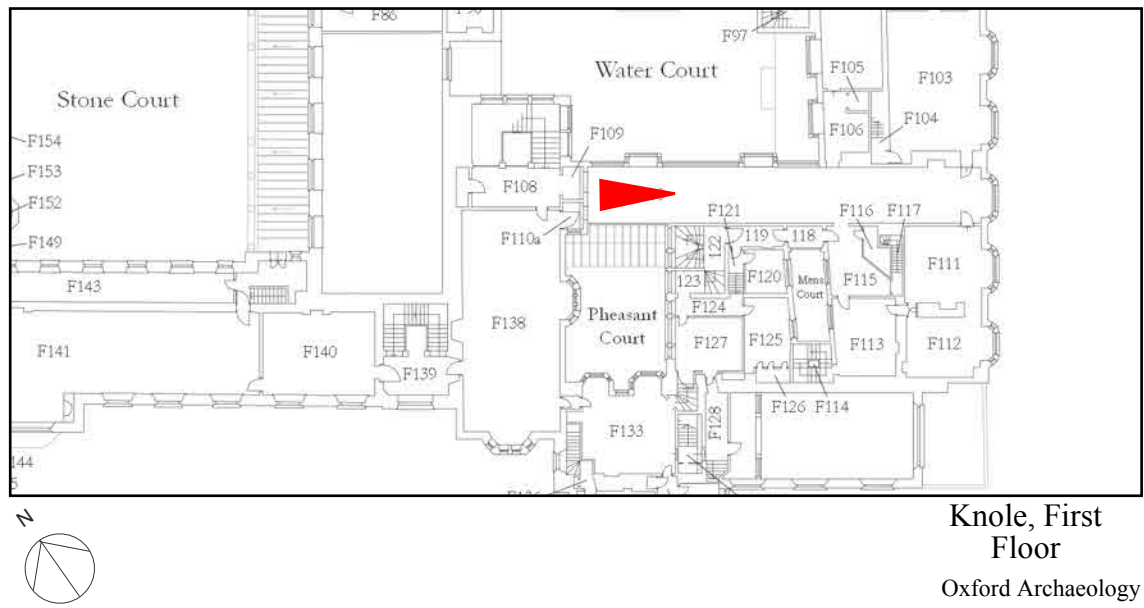


Figure 61: Brown Gallery, geometric ceiling pattern. (*Author*)

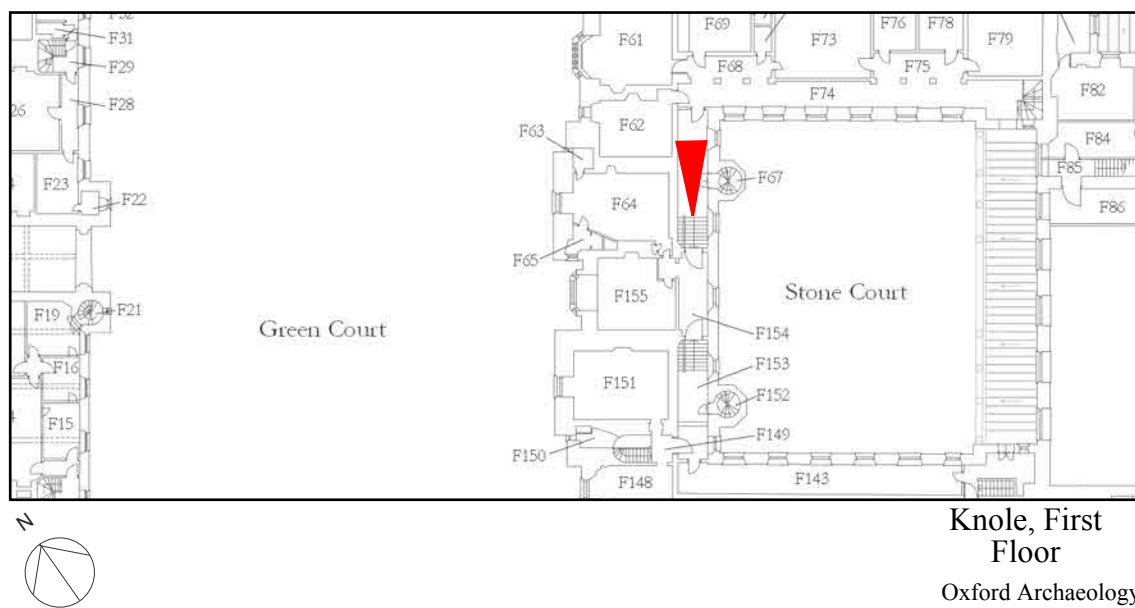


Figure 62: Type 1 door into Bouchier's Room. (*Author*)

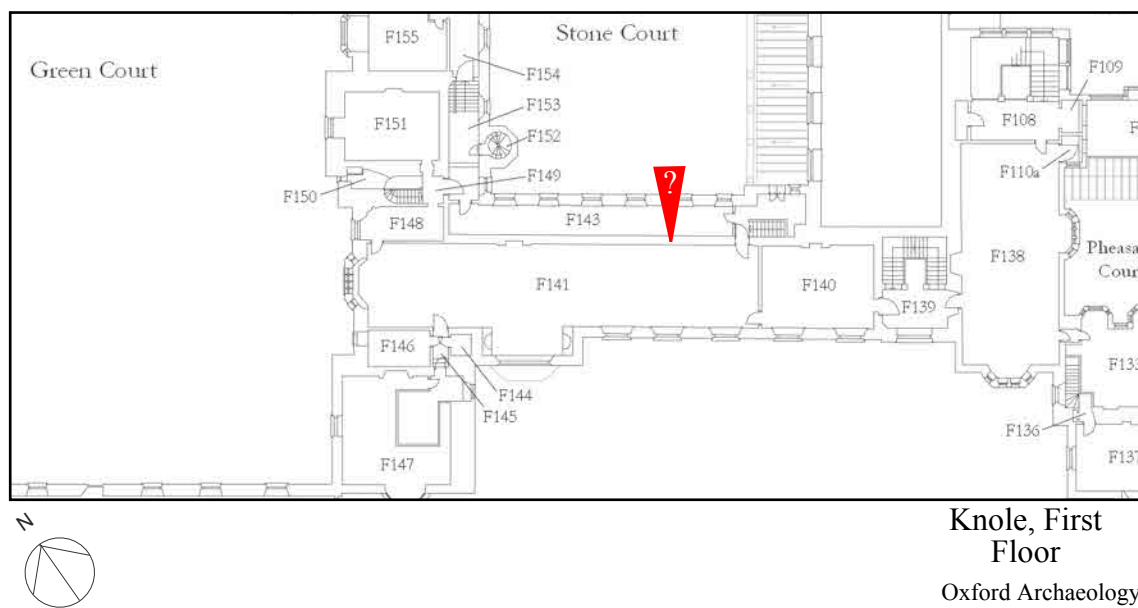


Figure 63: Doorway said to be between Cartoon Gallery and Tapestry Passage.
(*Goodhew & Hunter*)



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Figure 64: The outline of a blocked door (beneath wallpaper) that formerly led onto a first floor gallery on the north-side of Stone Court. (*Author*)

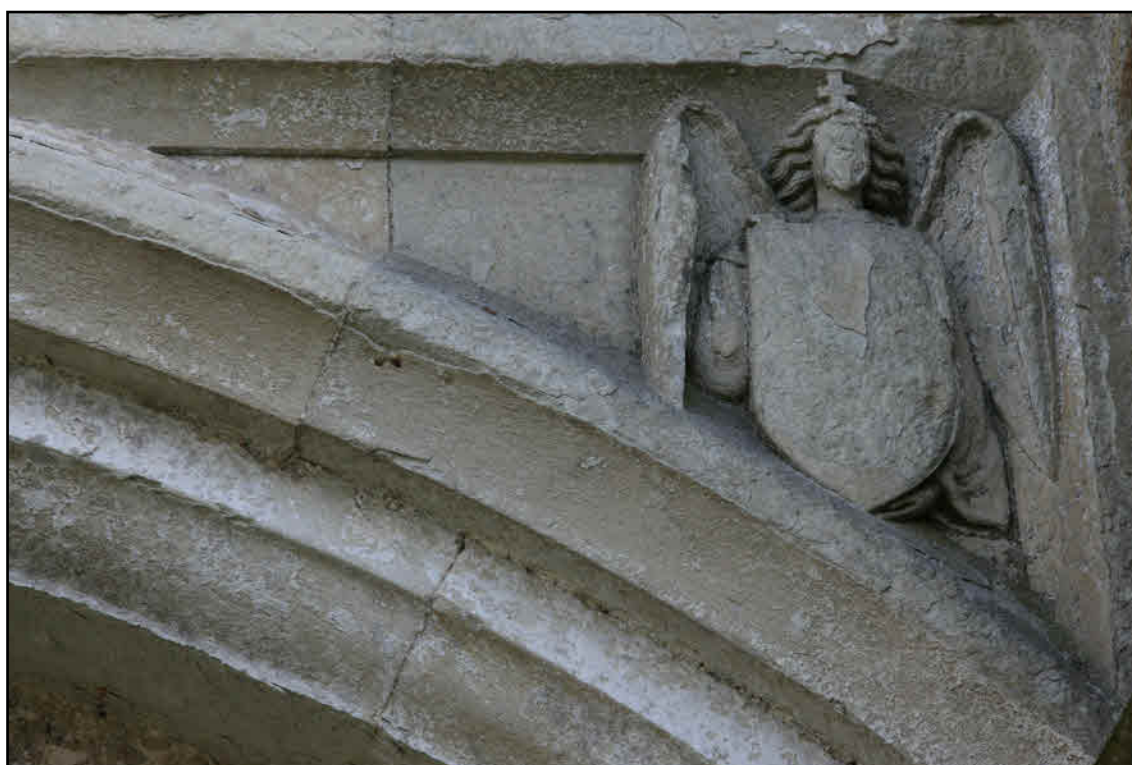
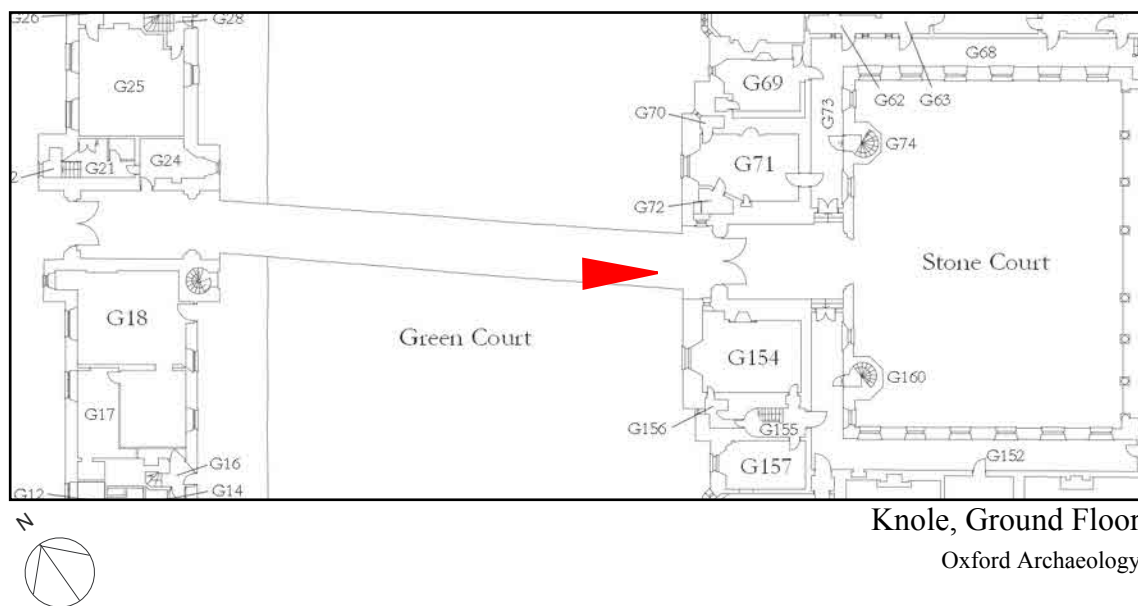


Figure 65: Spandrel with angel carrying shield above Bouchier Tower gate. (*Author*)

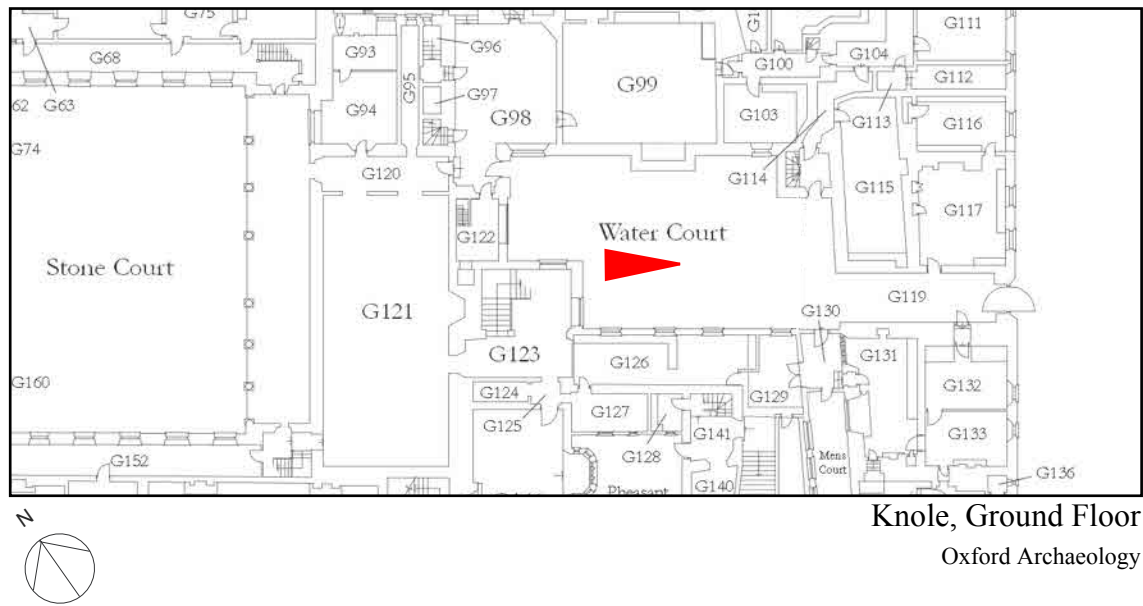


Figure 66: East side of Water Court showing Still Room Passage to the right. (*Author*)

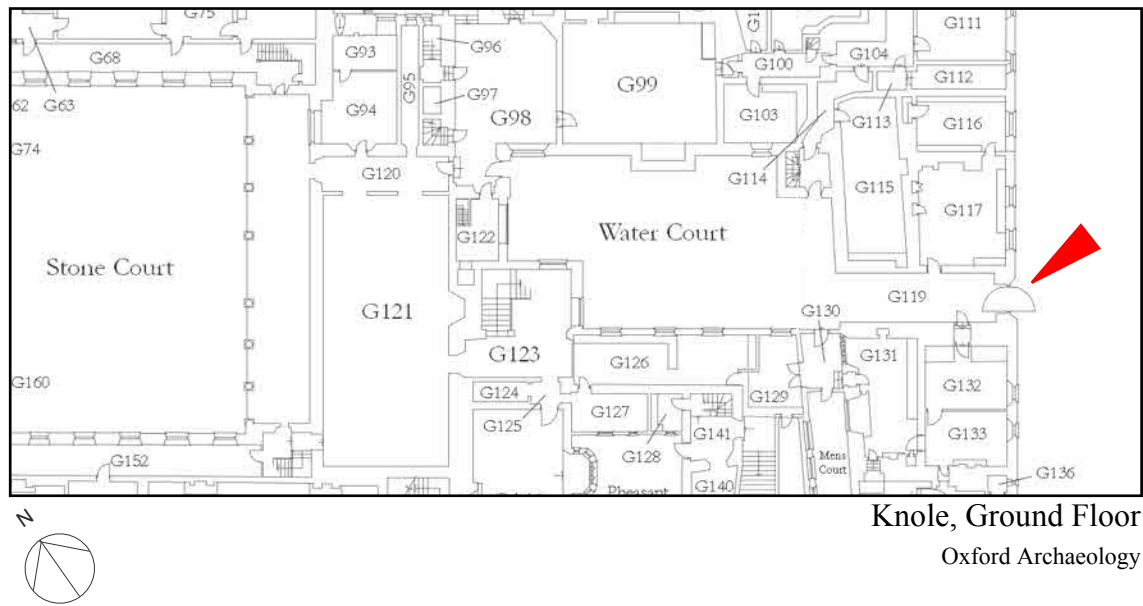


Figure 67: Type 1 doorway at east end of Still Room Passage. (*Author*)

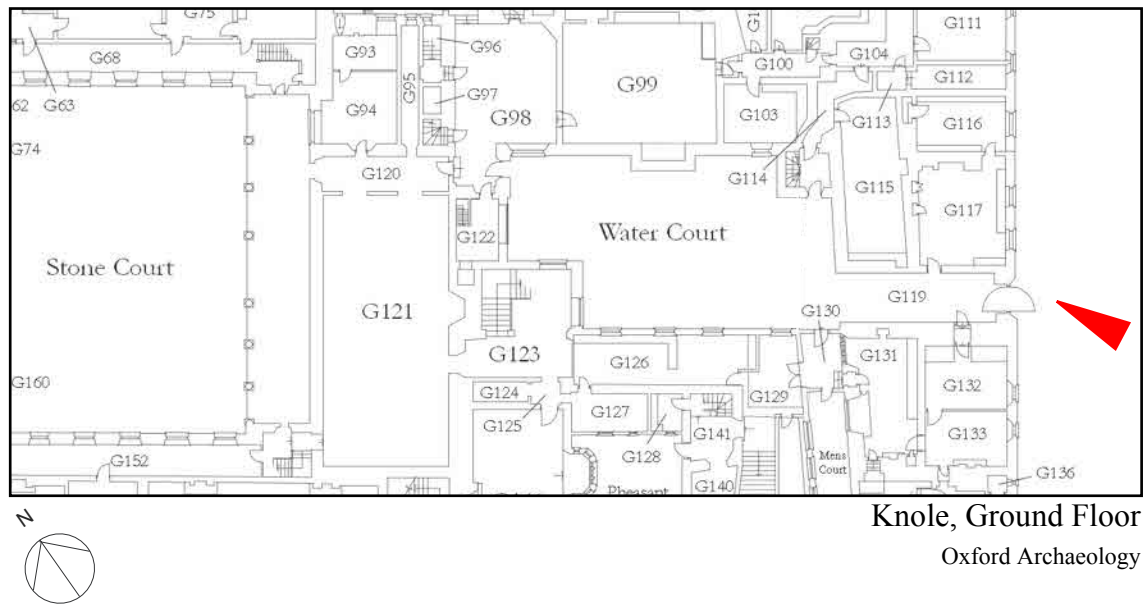
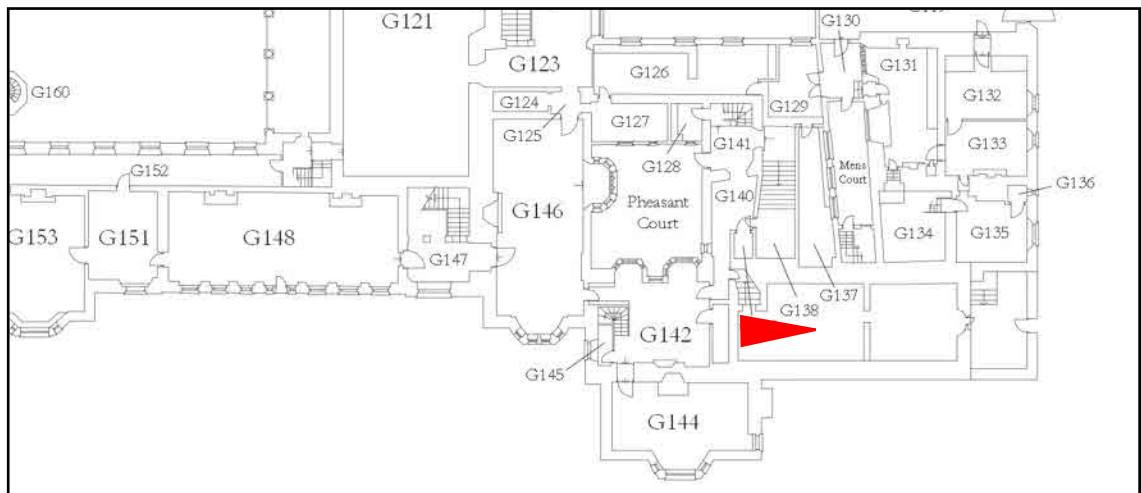


Figure 68: East front showing quoins embedded in later stonework (between arrows).
(Author)



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Figure 69: Interior of Knoles Chapel. (*Author*)

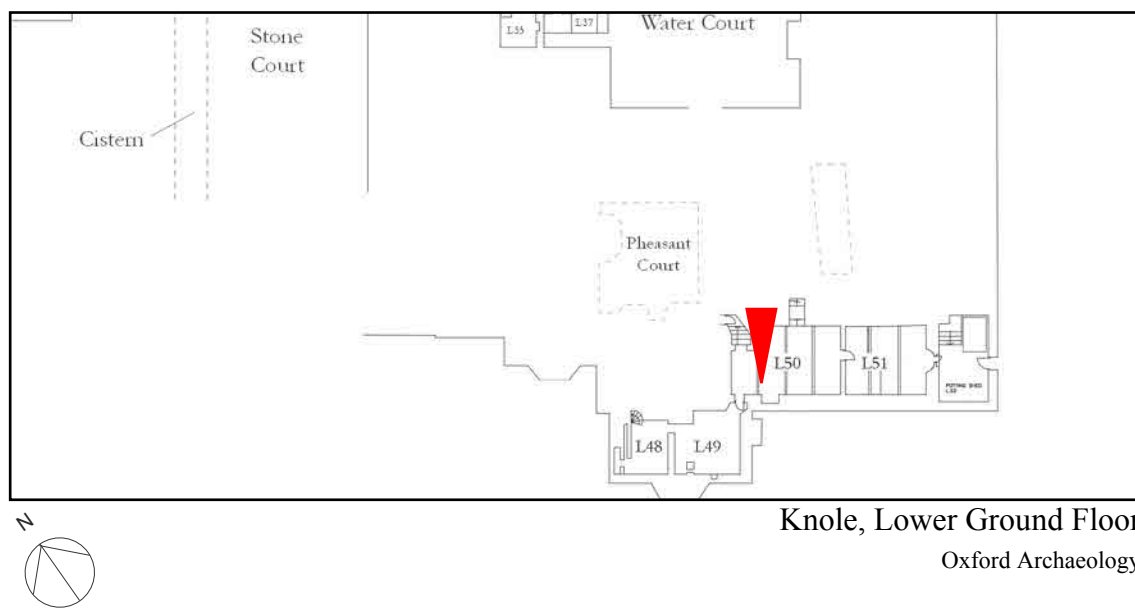


Figure 70: 'Lavabo' or lectern in the Chapel undercroft. (*Author*)

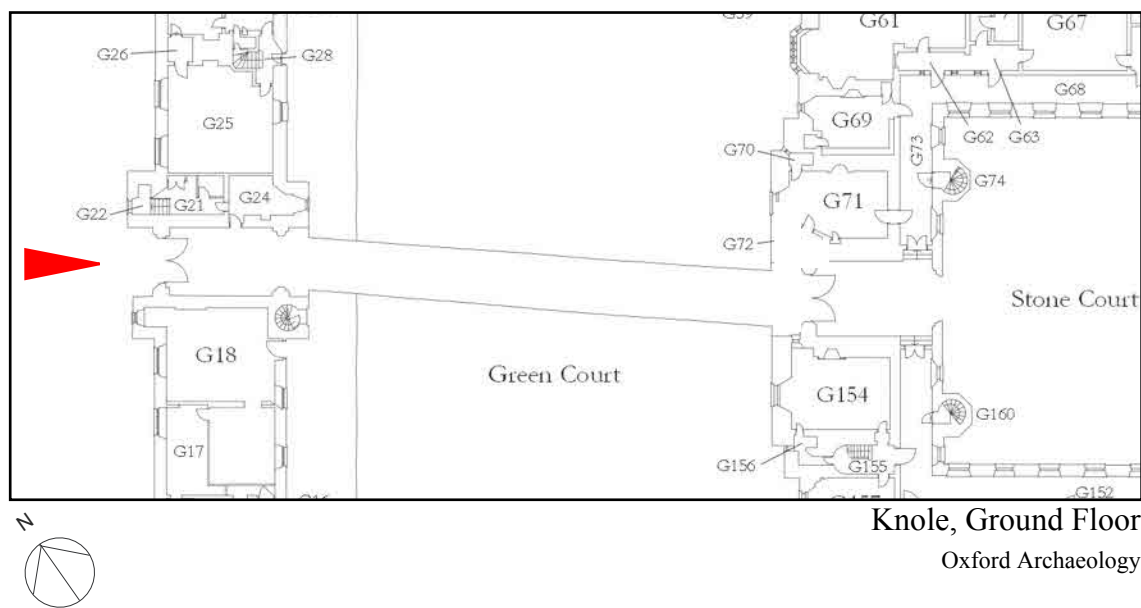


Figure 71: West front with the Outer Wicket gate. (*Author*)

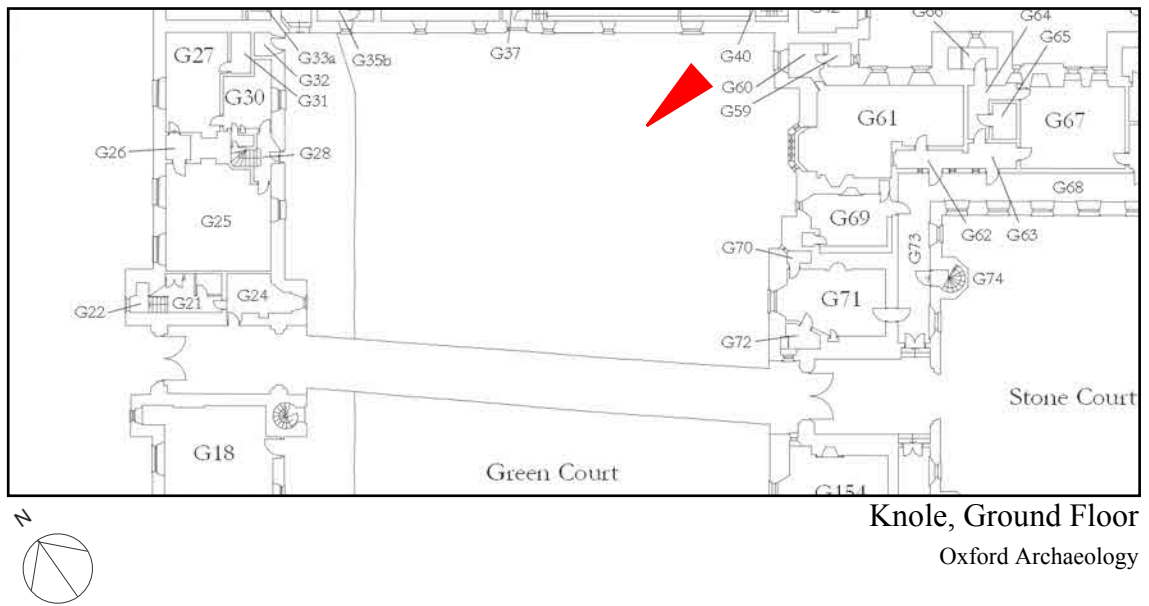


Figure 72: Interior of Green Court showing Outer Wicket gate. (*Author*)

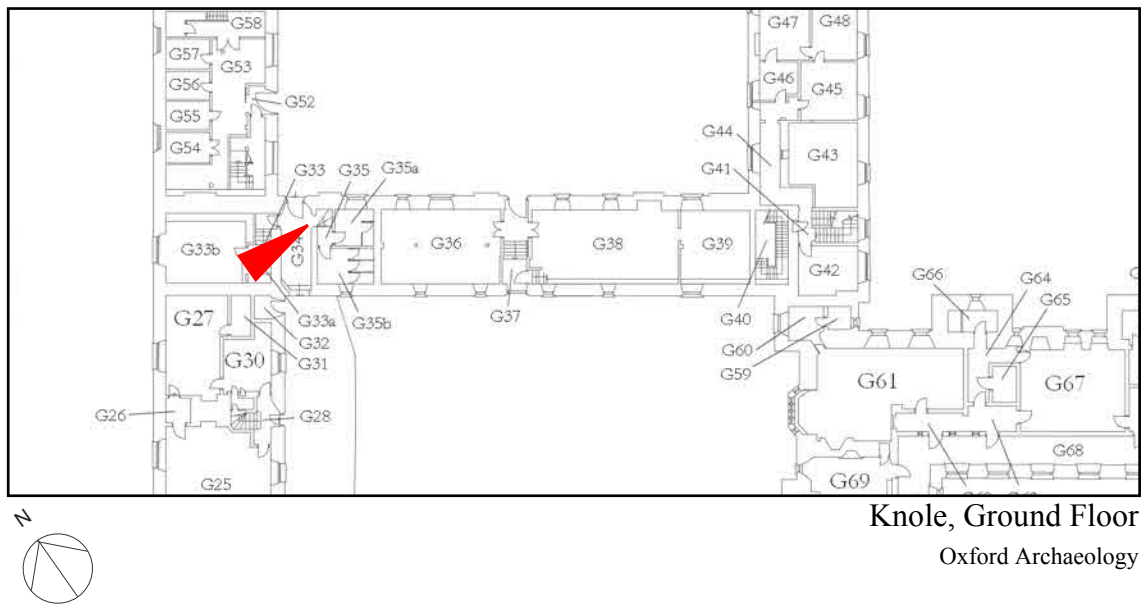


Figure 73: Type 1 doorway in passage between Green Court and Stable Court. (*Author*)

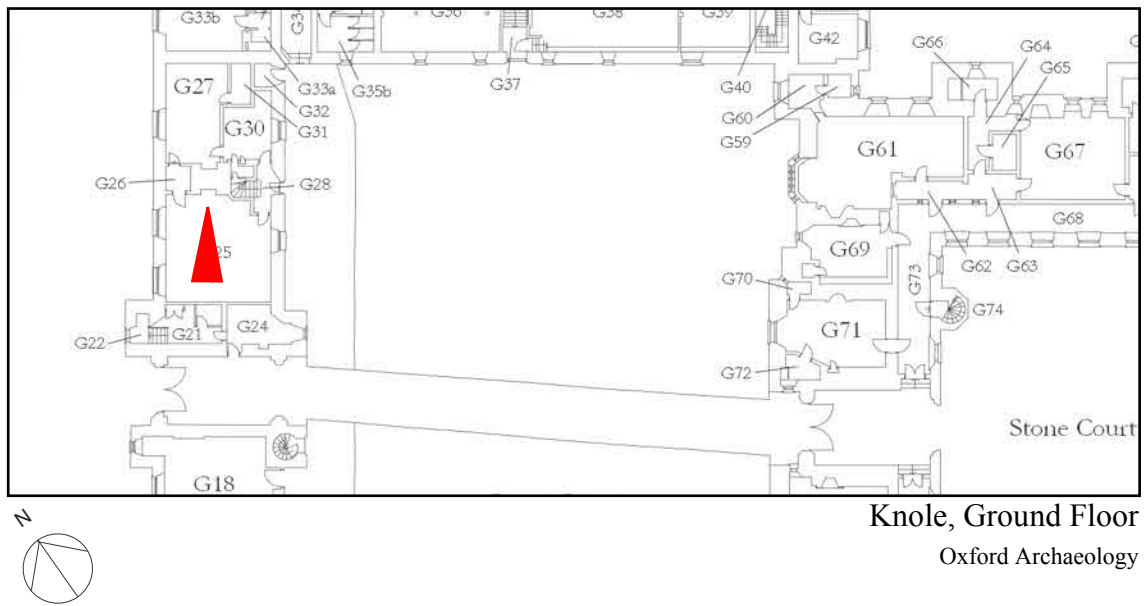


Figure 74: Fireplace in west range of Green Court. (*Author*)

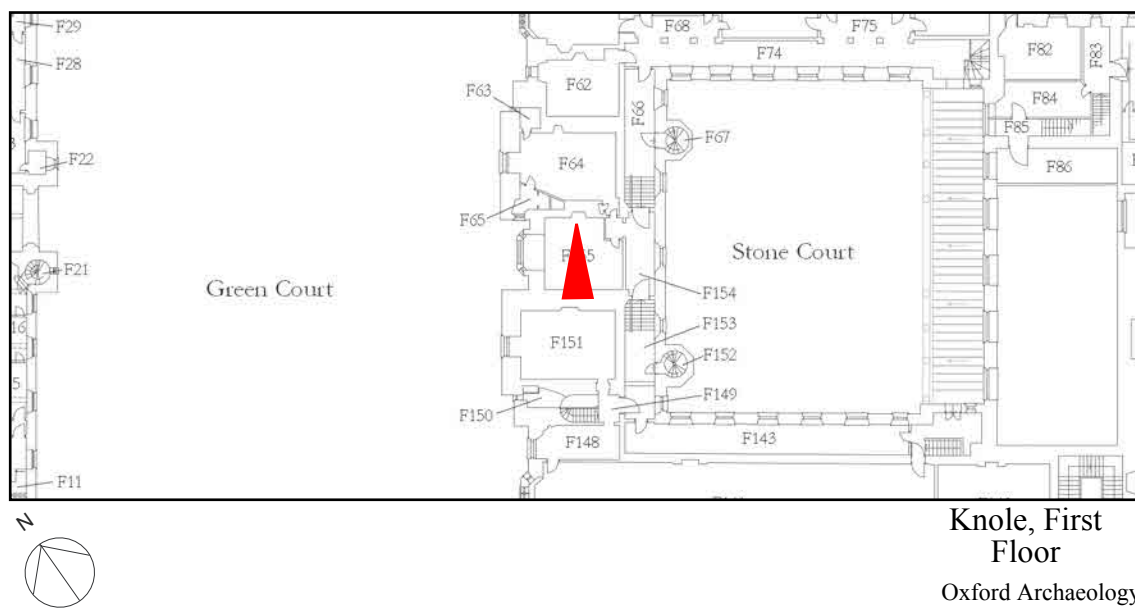
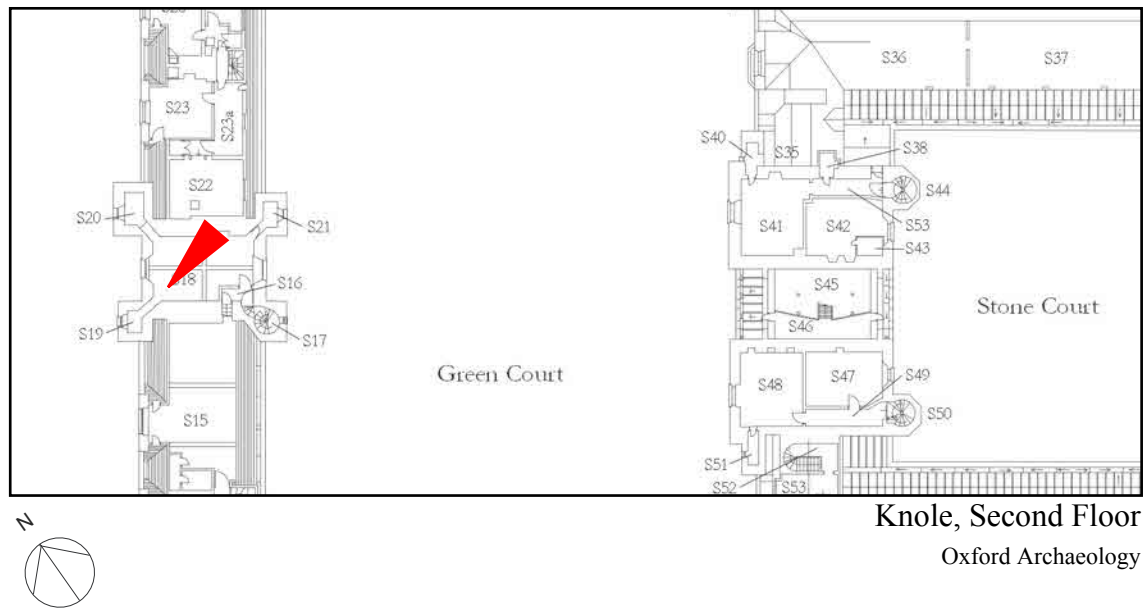


Figure 75: Fireplace in Bourchier's Room. (*Author*)



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Figure 76: Door in second floor room of the Outer Wicket. (*Author*)

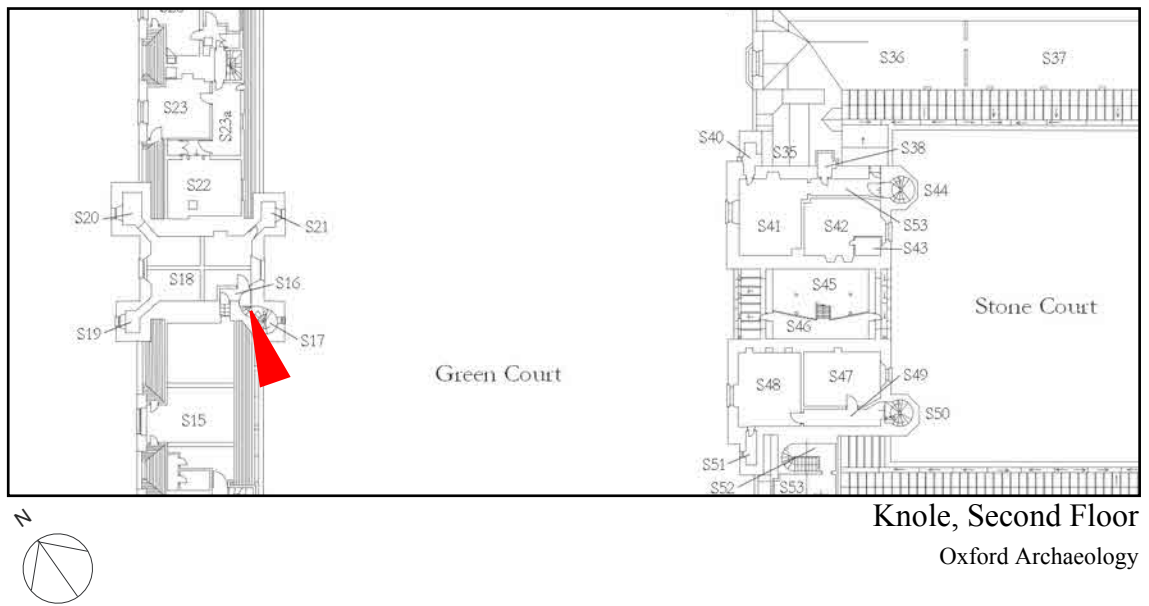


Figure 77: Drafted margin on jamb of door in second floor room of the Outer Wicket.
(*Author*)

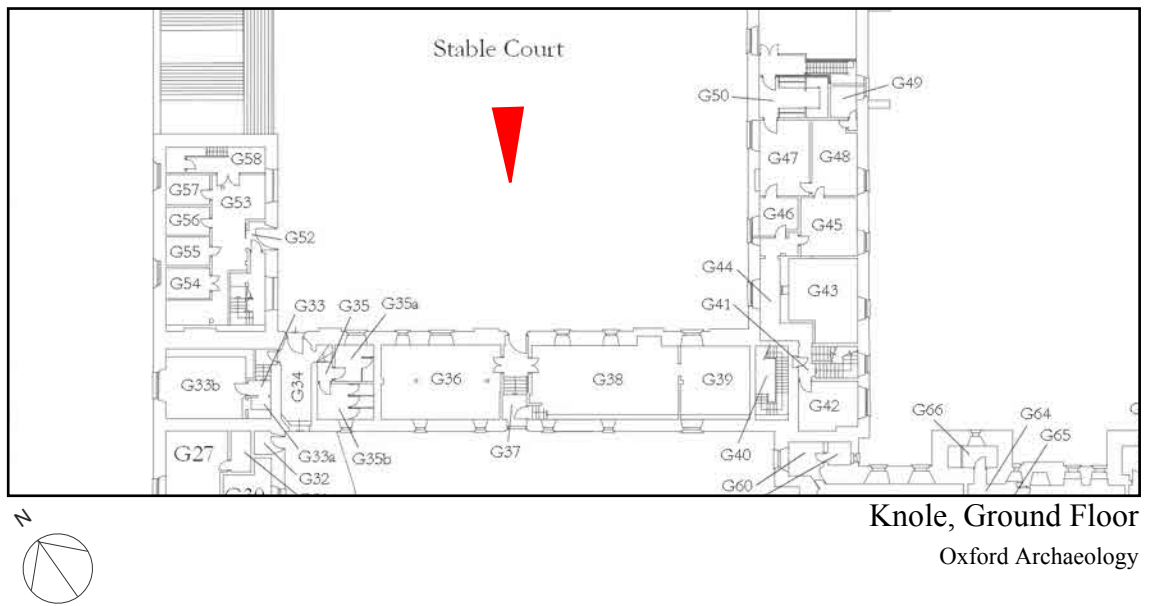


Figure 78: Bishop's Stable seen from Stable Court. (*Author*)

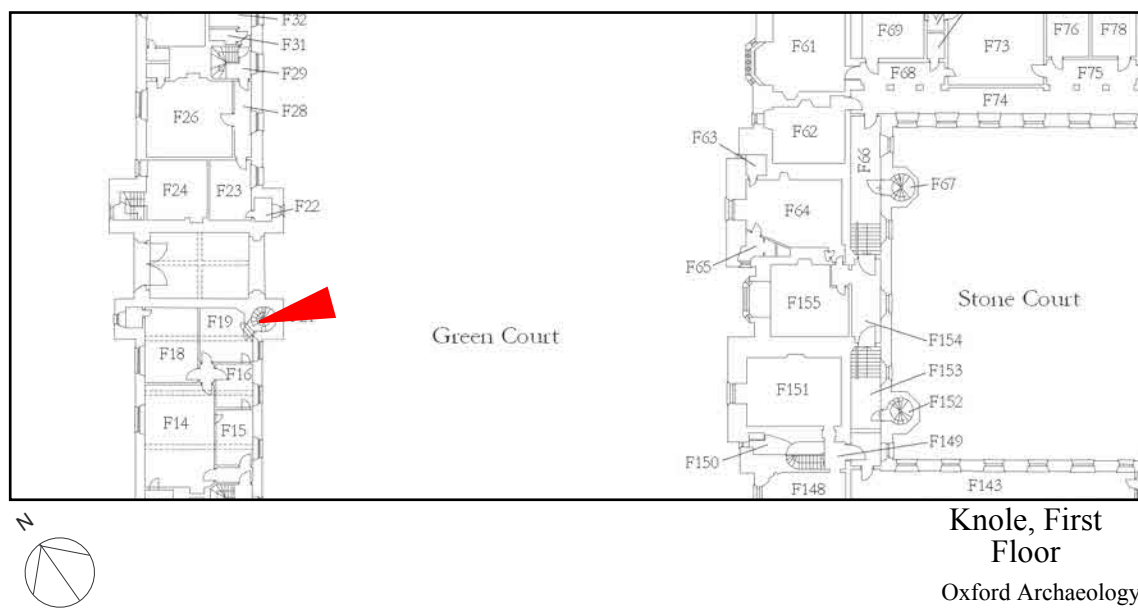
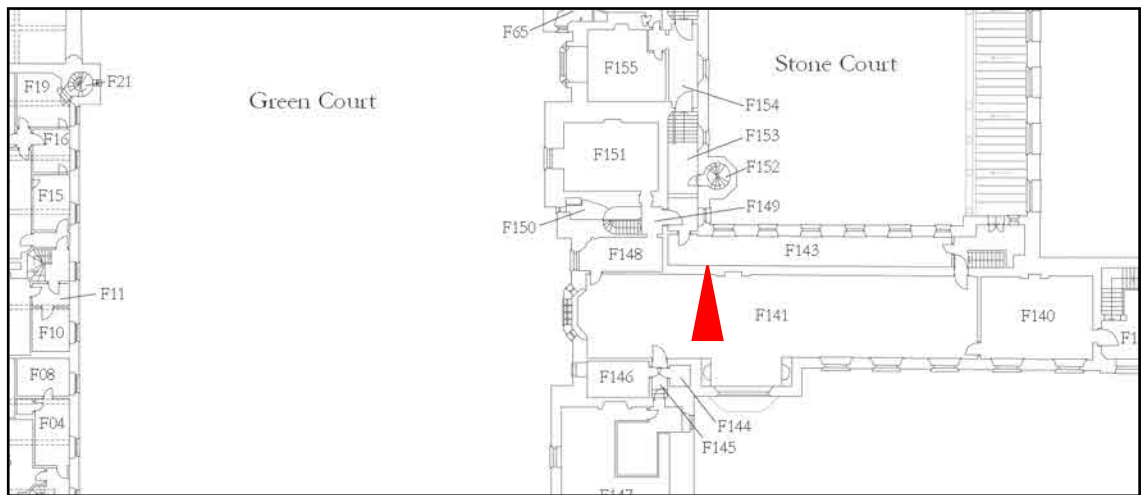


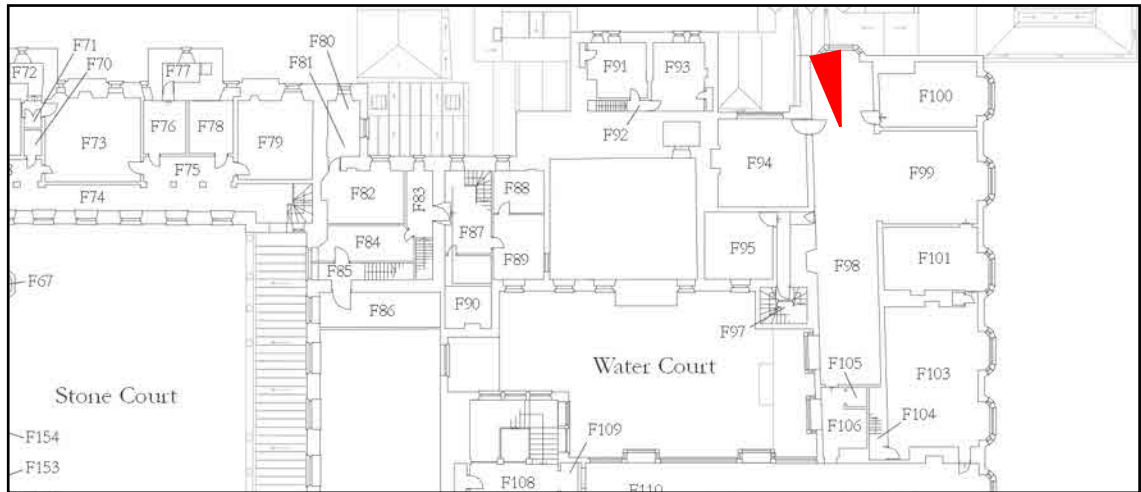
Figure 79: Brick revealed below plaster layers in the Outer Wicket. (*Author*)



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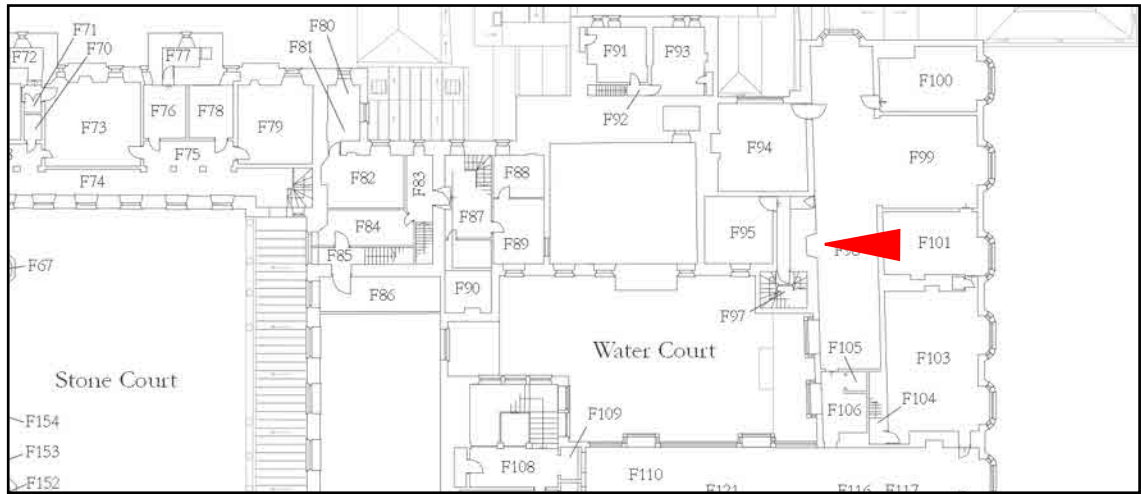
Figure 80: Ruddled brick from wall between the Cartoon Gallery and Tapestry Passage.
(Author)



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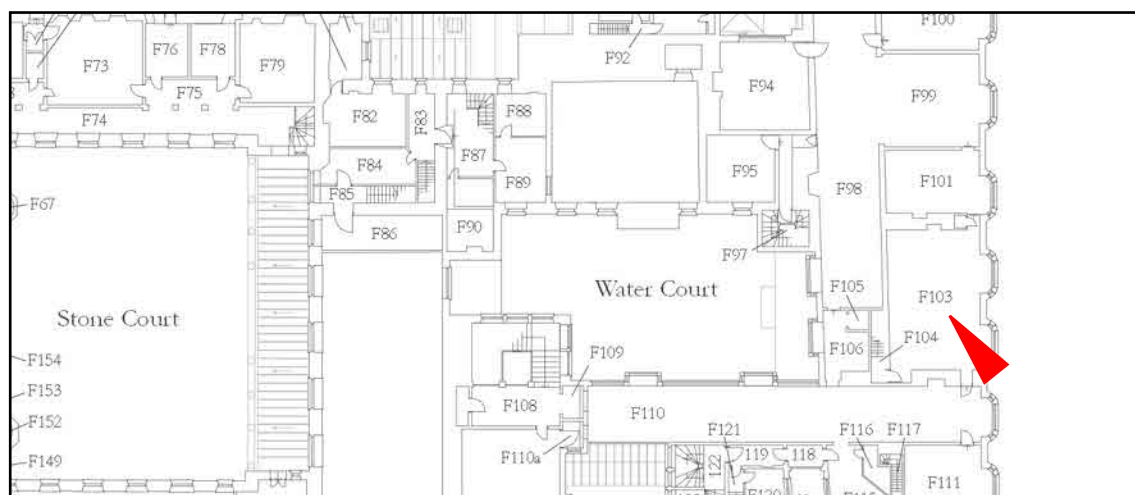
Figure 81: Leicester Gallery. (NTPL / Andreas von Einsiedel)



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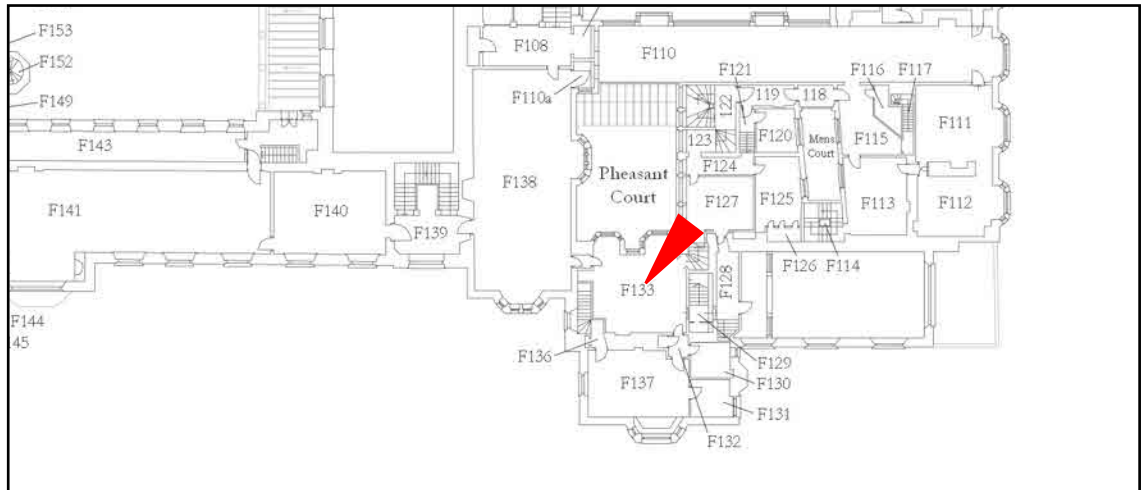
Figure 82: Fireplace in Leicester Gallery. (*Author*)



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Figure 83: Spangled Bedroom. (*NTPL / Andreas von Einsiedel*)



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Figure 84: Ceiling of Pheasant Court Room (early-sixteenth century). (*Author*)

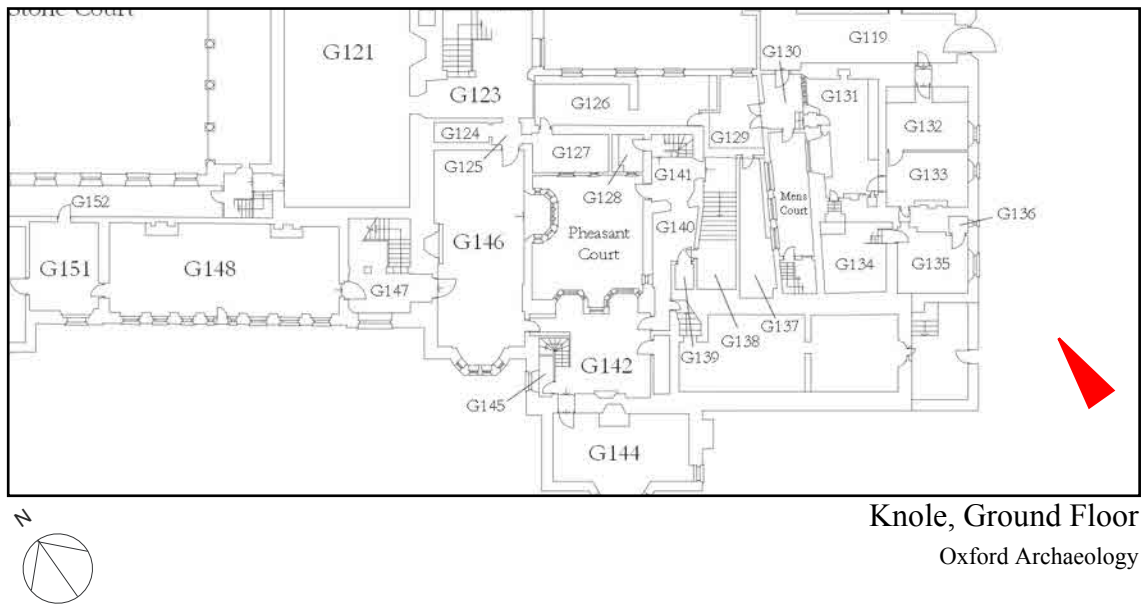
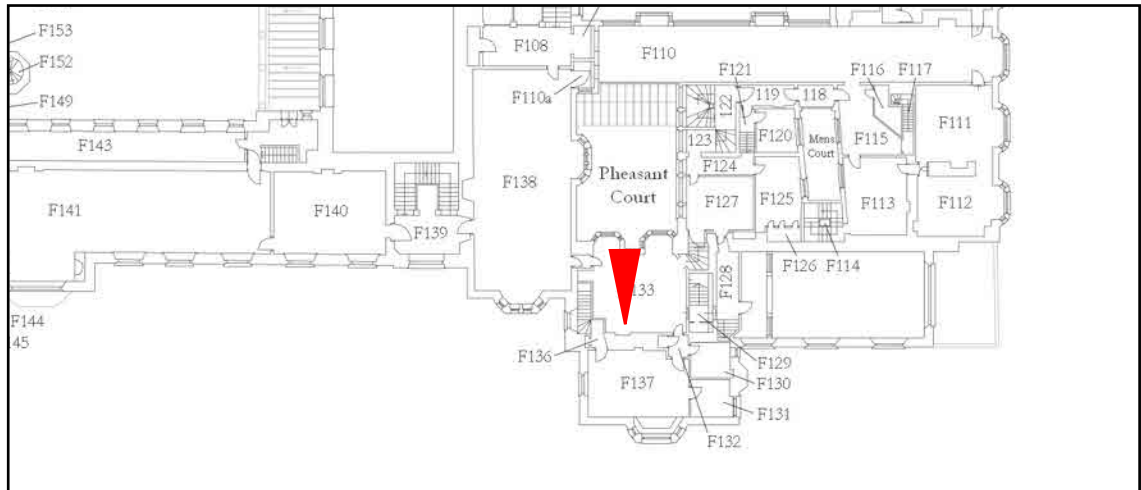


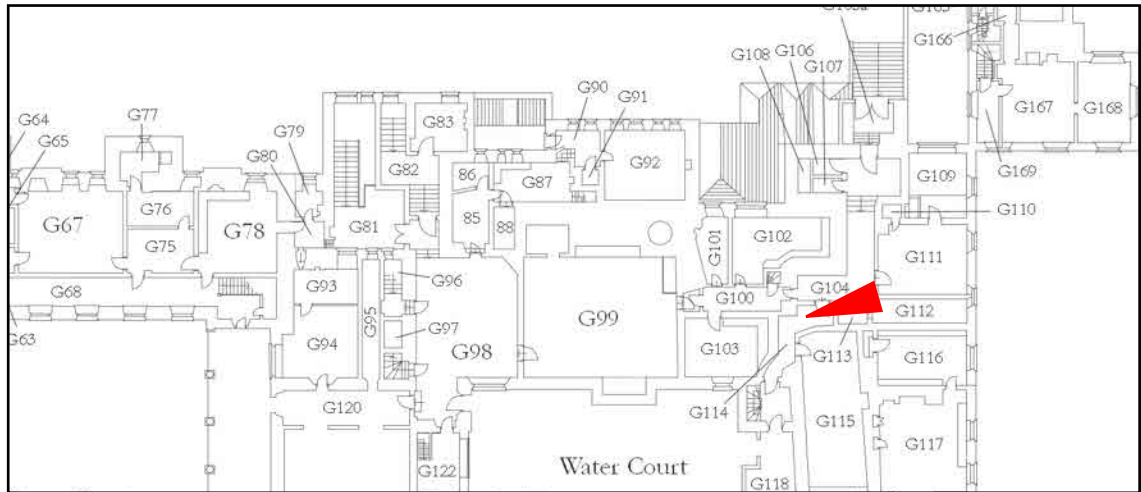
Figure 85: East range with Chapel to the left. (*Author*)



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Figure 86: Graffiti on lintel of Pheasant Court Room fireplace possibly showing the archiepiscopal pallium. (*Author*)



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Figure 87: Arch through former 'curtain' wall. Possibly Privy Kitchen fireplace.
(Author)

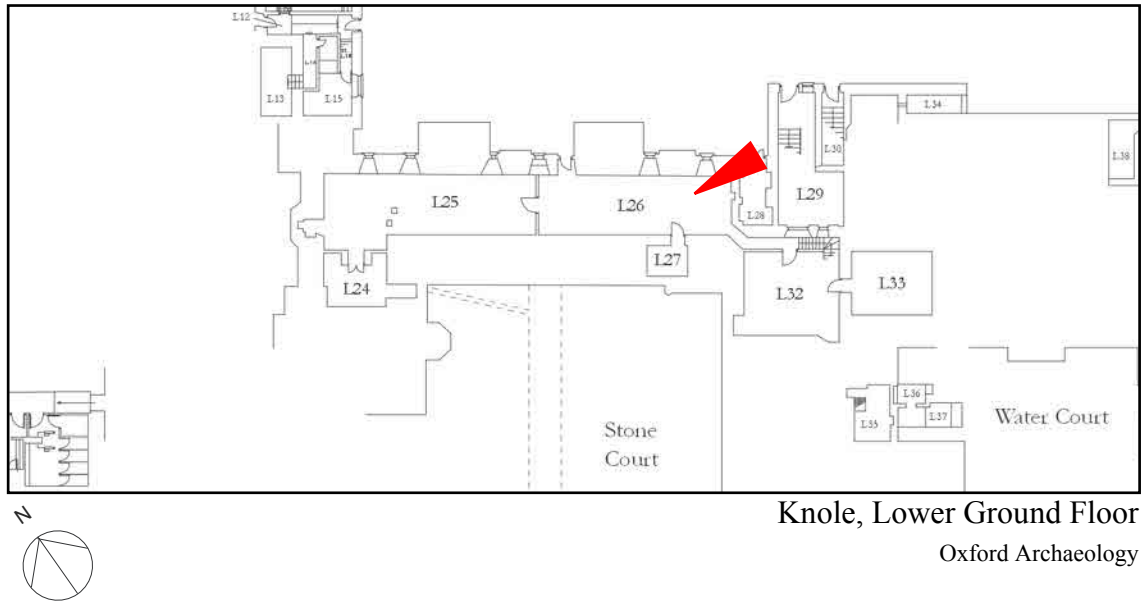


Figure 88: North range cellar. (*Author*)

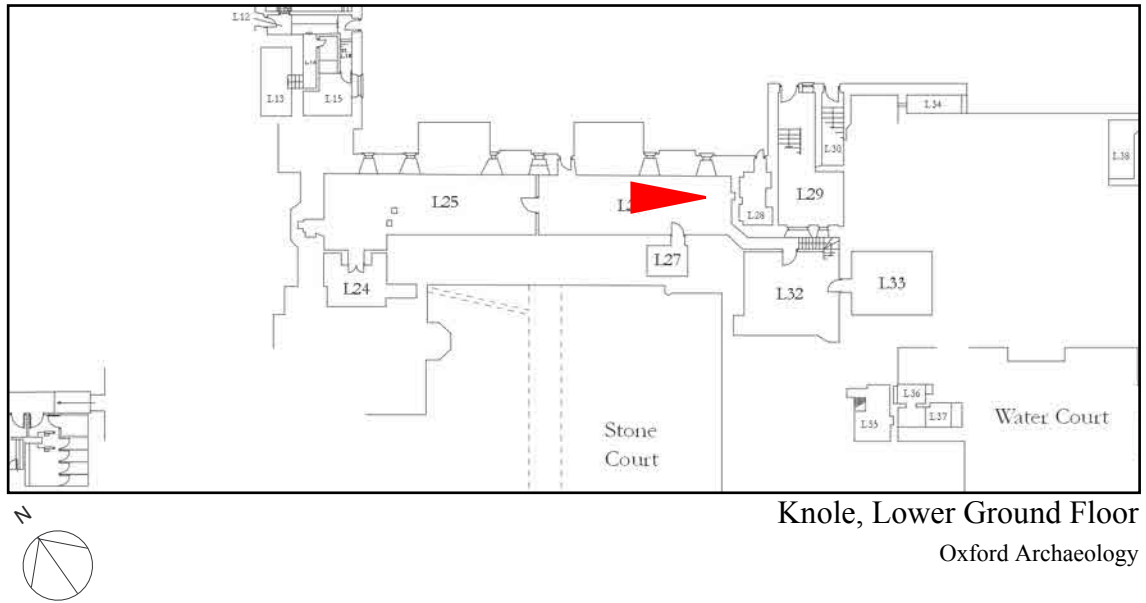


Figure 89: Cupboard with recess and pintles for a door, north range cellar. (*Author*)

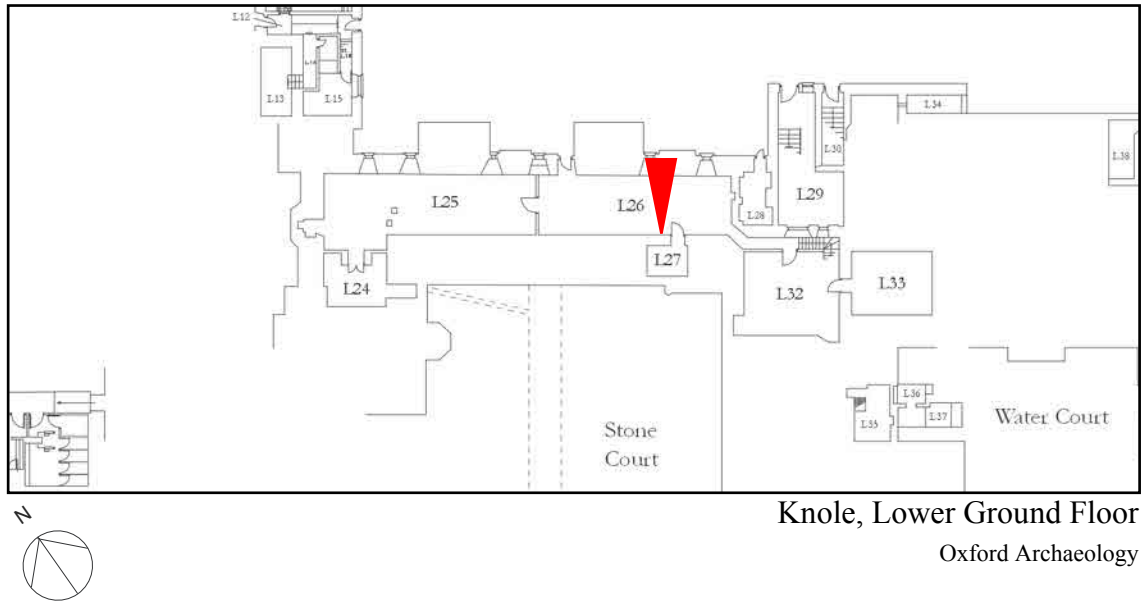


Figure 90: North range cellar wall paintings. Supplicant figure. (*Author*)

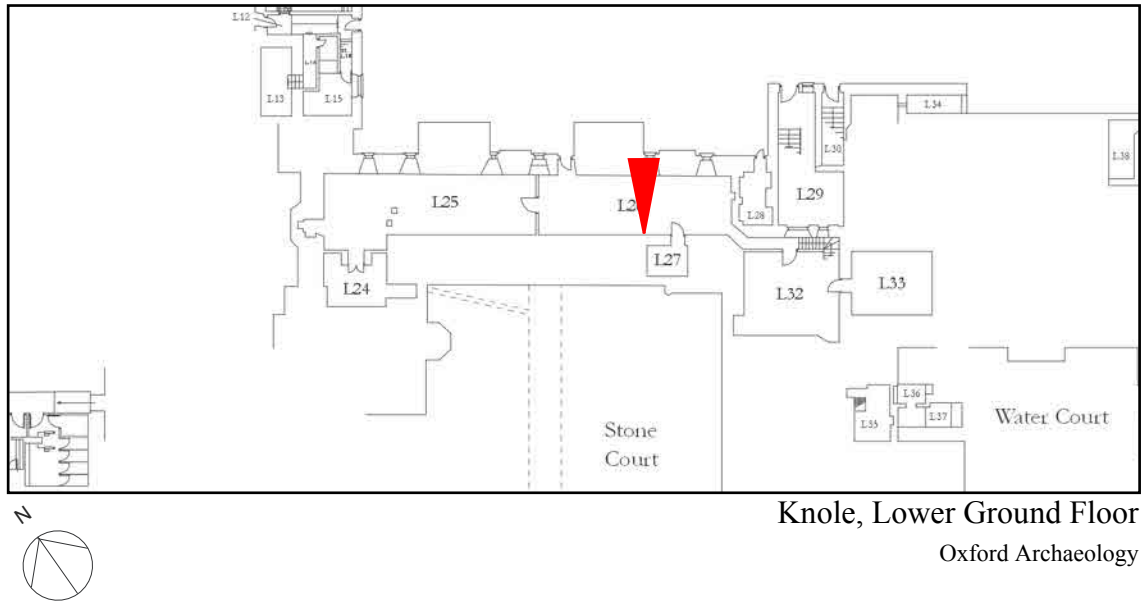


Figure 91: North range cellar wall paintings. Christ Man of Sorrows. (*Author*)

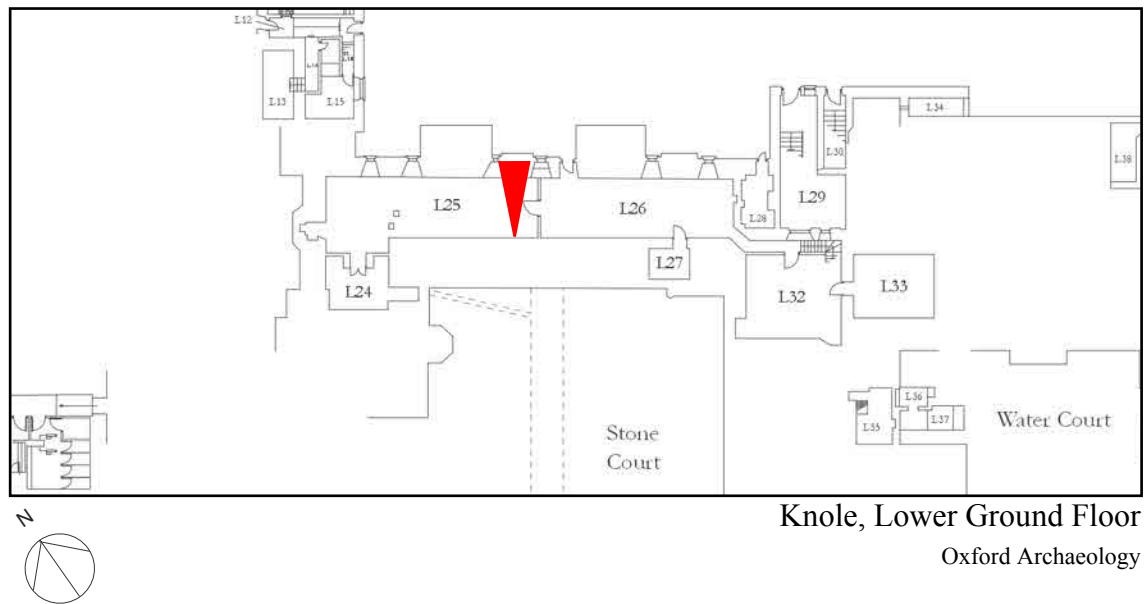


Figure 92: North range cellar wall paintings. The Plantagenet arms of the English royal family possibly with a crown as its crest, surrounded by a platted mantle and with later frieze above. (*Author*)

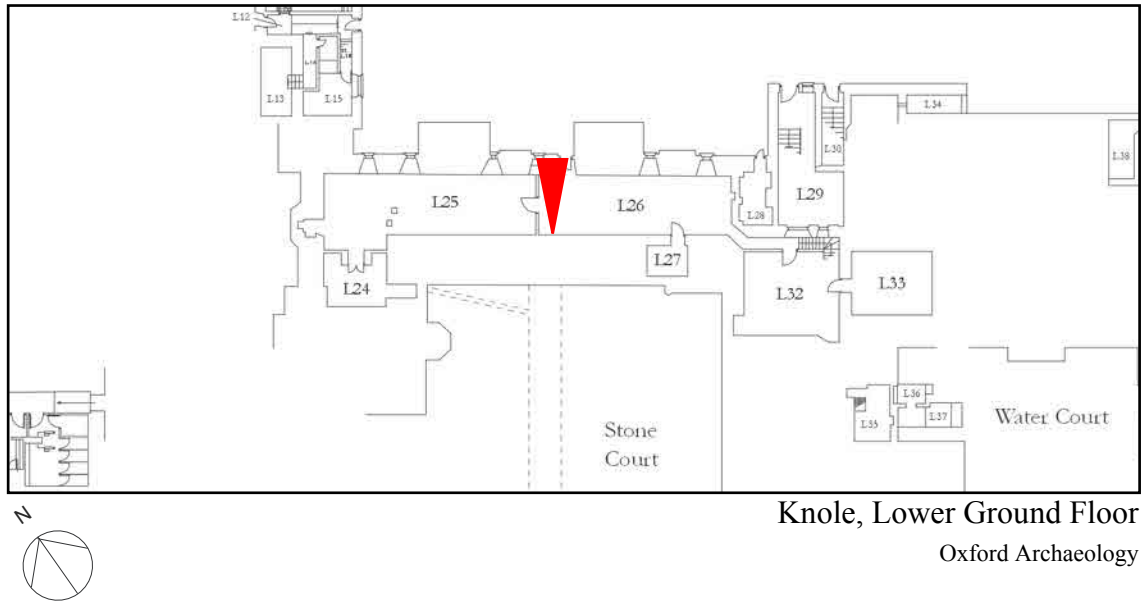


Figure 93: North range cellar wall paintings. Thomas Bouchier's arms impaling the pallium of the see of Canterbury with the Cardinal's hat as its crest. (*Author*)

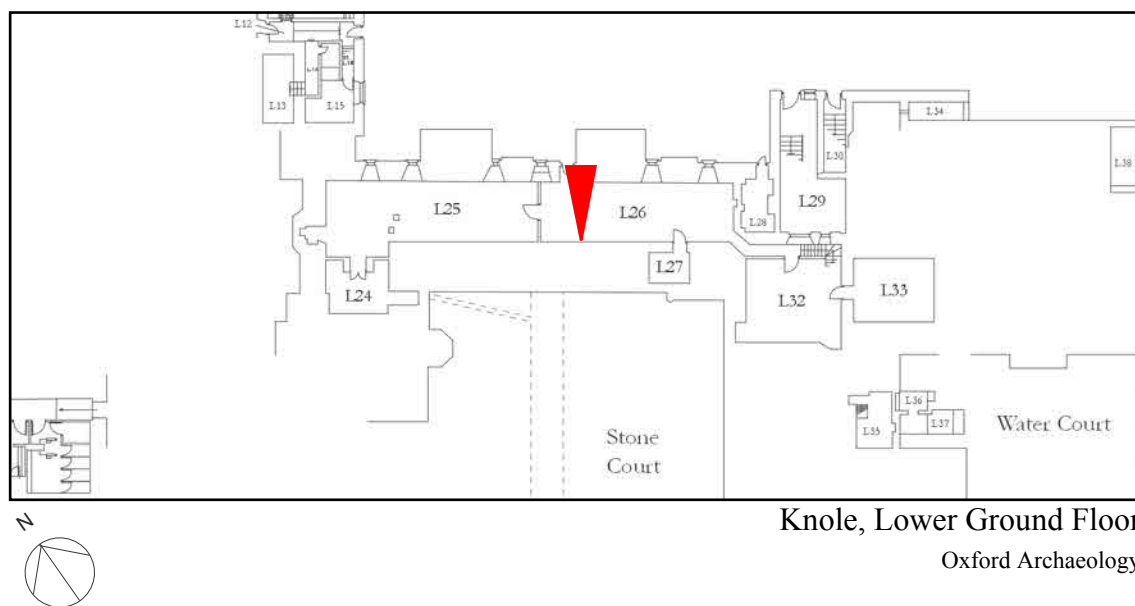


Figure 94: North range cellar wall paintings. Bouchier arms impaling the Plantagenet royal arms representing the archbishop's parents, William Bouchier, Count of Eu, and Anne of Woodstock. (*Author*)

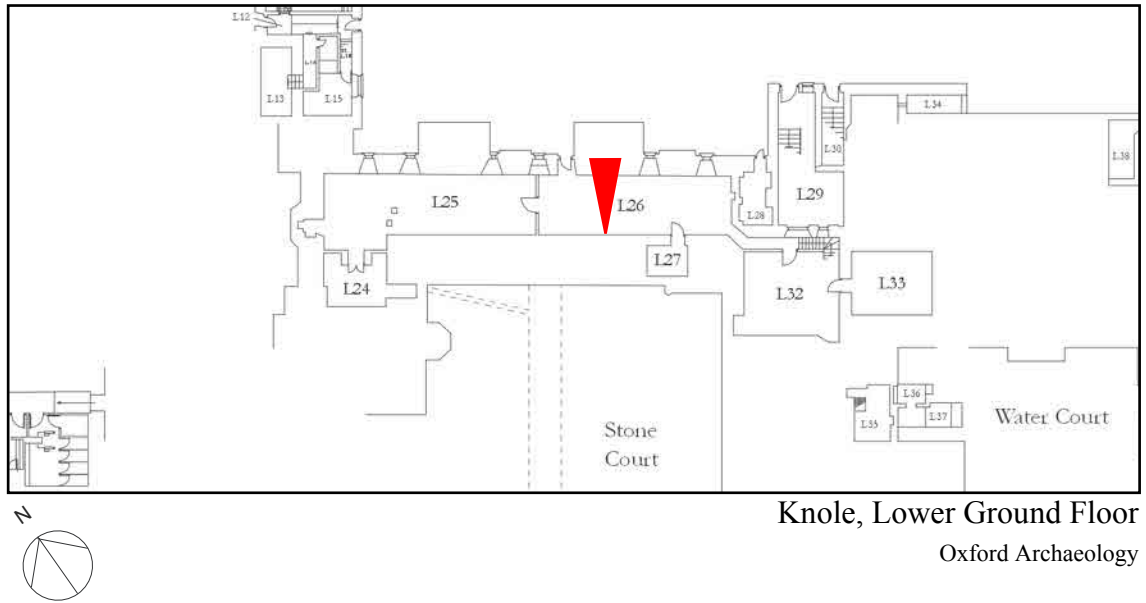


Figure 95: North range cellar wall paintings. Bouchier arms impaling those of Cambridge, probably representing Thomas Bouchier's elder brother Henry, Earl of Essex, and his wife Isabel Langley. (*Author*)

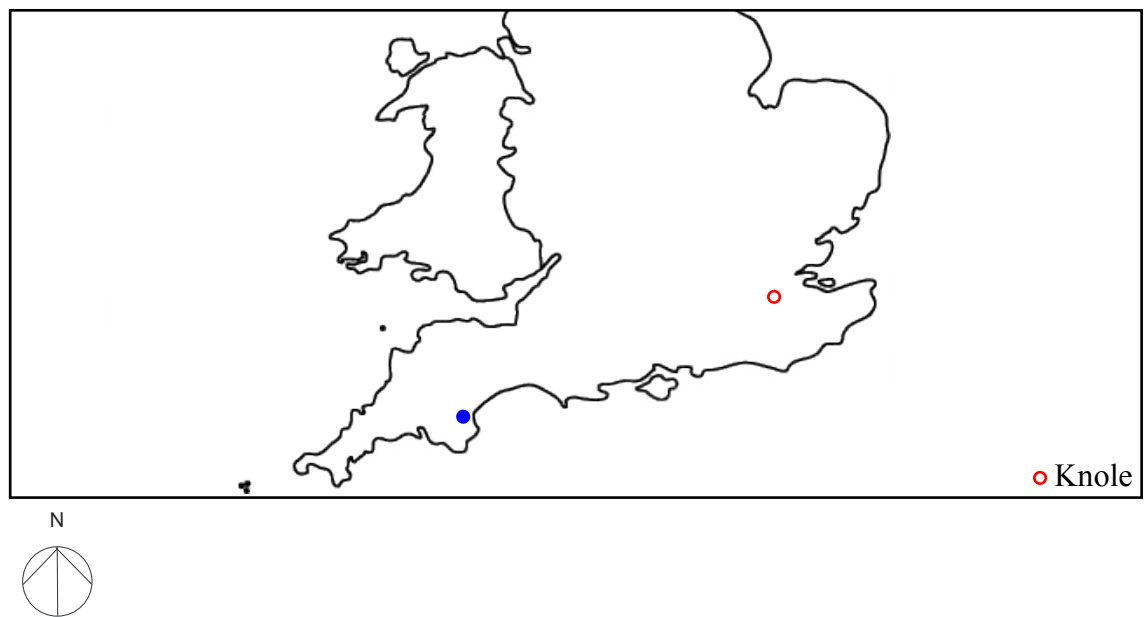


Figure 96: Great Hall, Bradley Manor, Devon, showing heraldic wall painting of Tudor royal arms. (NTPL / Nadia Mackenzie)

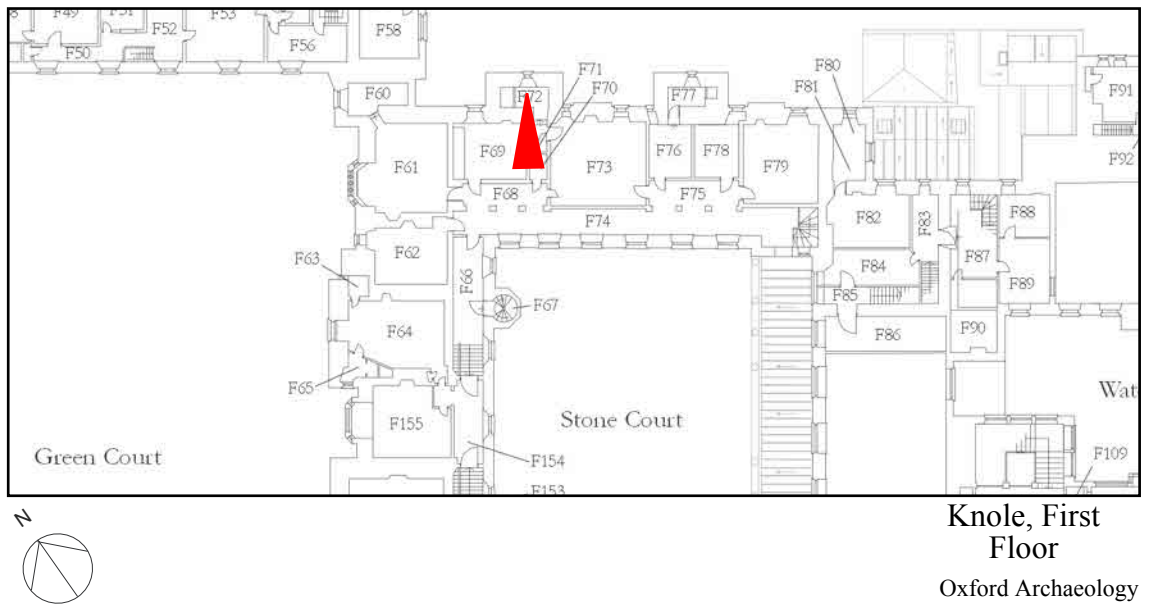


Figure 97: Stencil oak-leaf wall painting, garderobe window soffit, north range first floor. (*Author*)

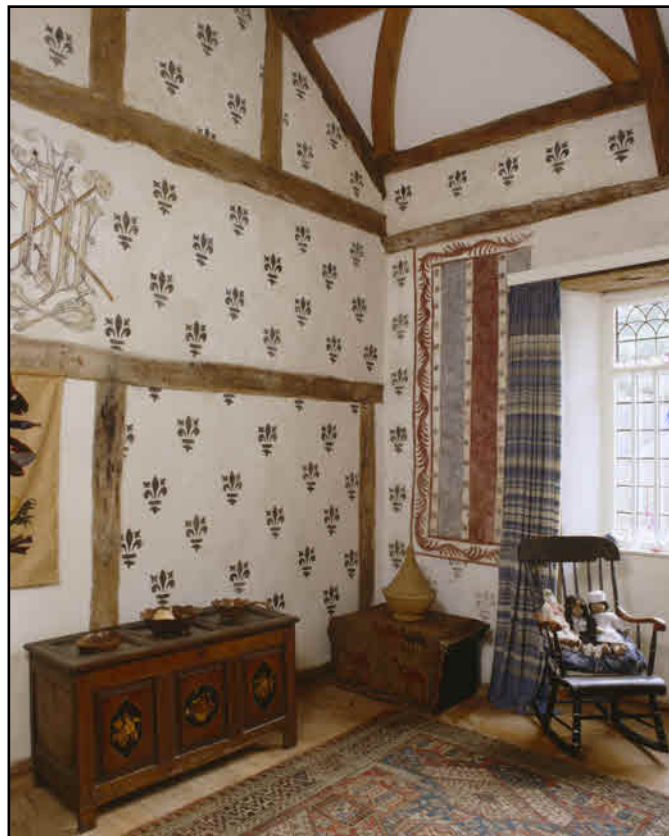
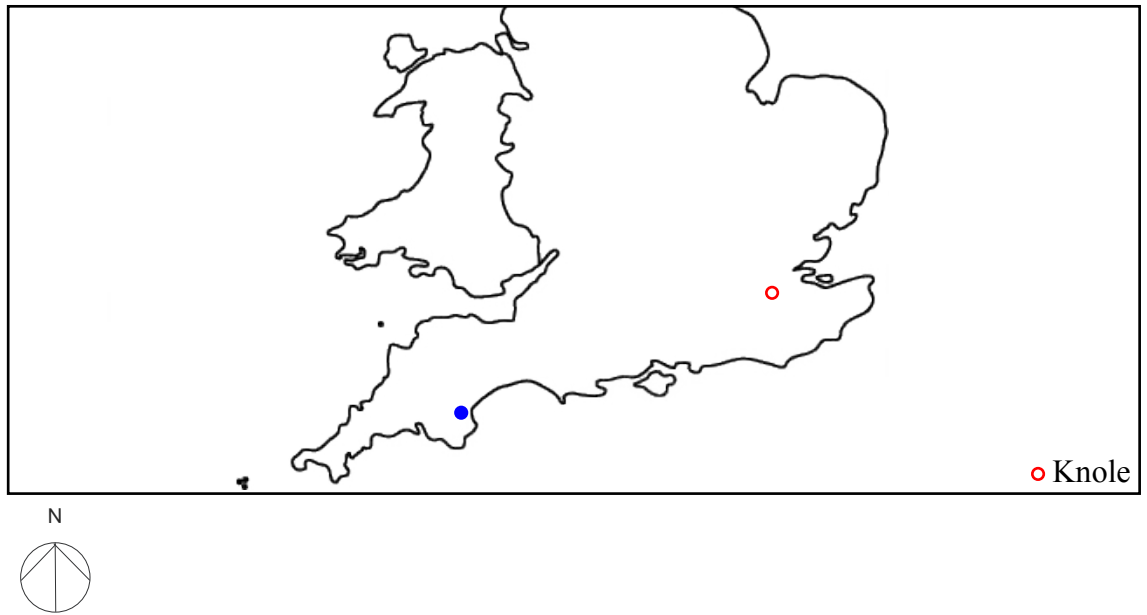


Figure 98: The Fleur-de-Lys Room, Bradley Manor, Devon, showing stenciled wall painting. (NTPL / Nadia Mackenzie)

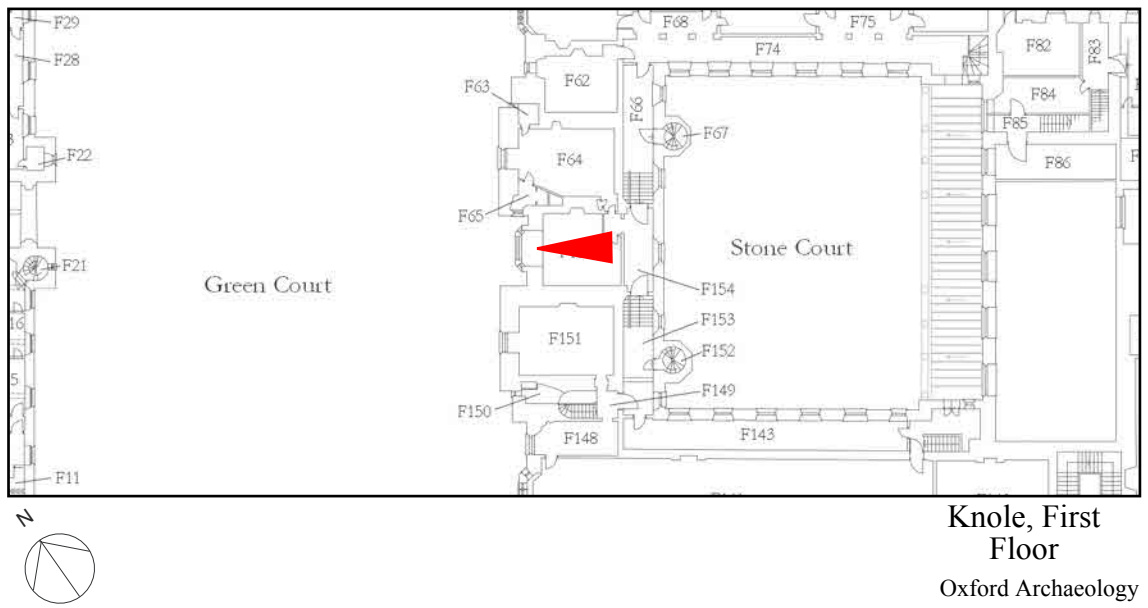
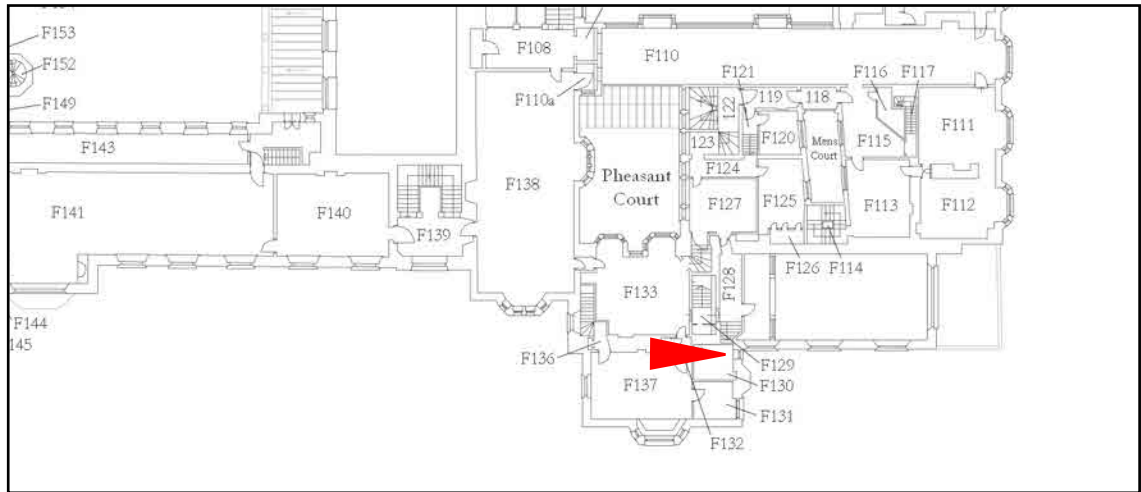


Figure 99: Bouchier's heraldic badges in stained glass of oriel window in Bouchier's Room. (*Author*)



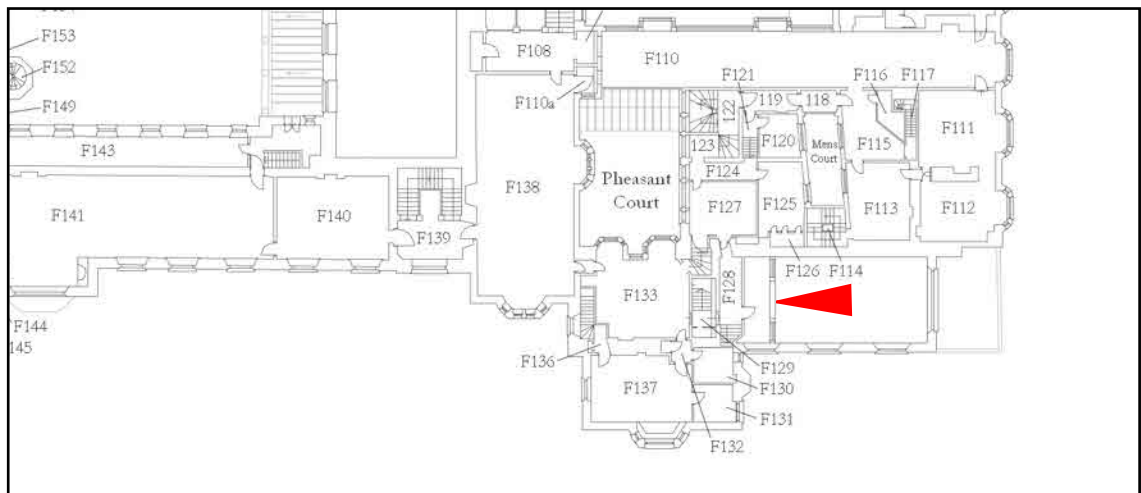
Figure 100: Fifteenth-century image of Bourchier eagle or falcon badge. (*London, BL. Add. Ms. 40742 f.6*)



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Figure 101: Reset stained glass quarries showing Bouchier knots and oak-leaves. First floor Duke's Tower. (*Author*)



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Figure 102: Reset carved timber in Chapel screen with Bouchier oak-leaves and *B[e]n[e]dictus deus motto.* (Author)

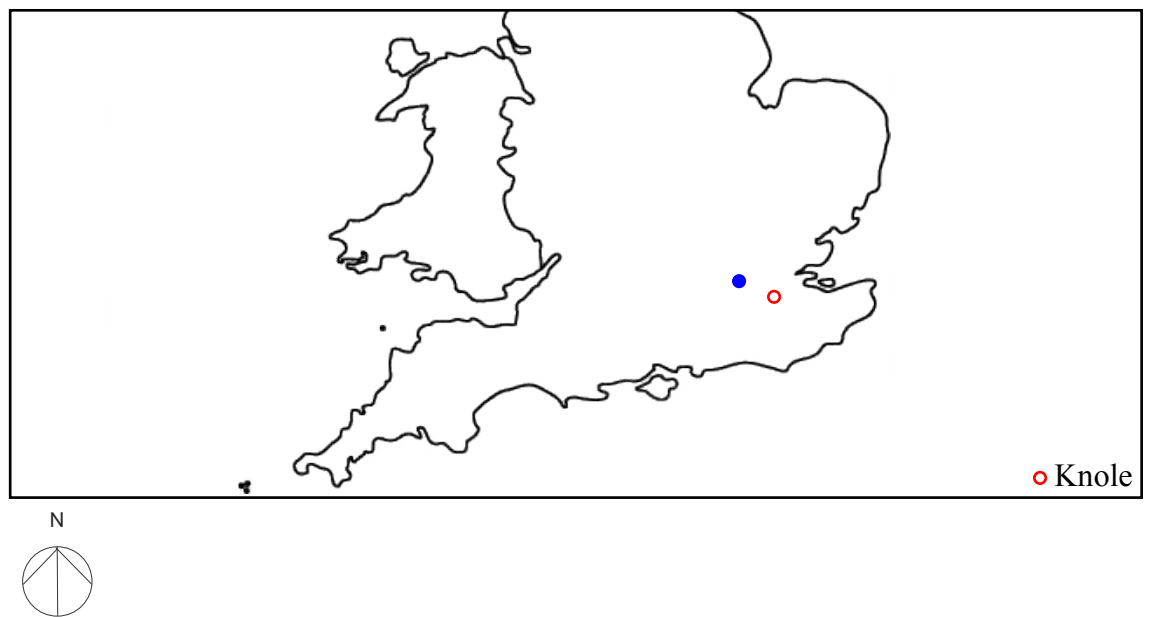


Figure 103: St. Mary's Mortlake, London. Font given to the church by Archbishop Bouchier showing his heraldic symbols. (*Author*)

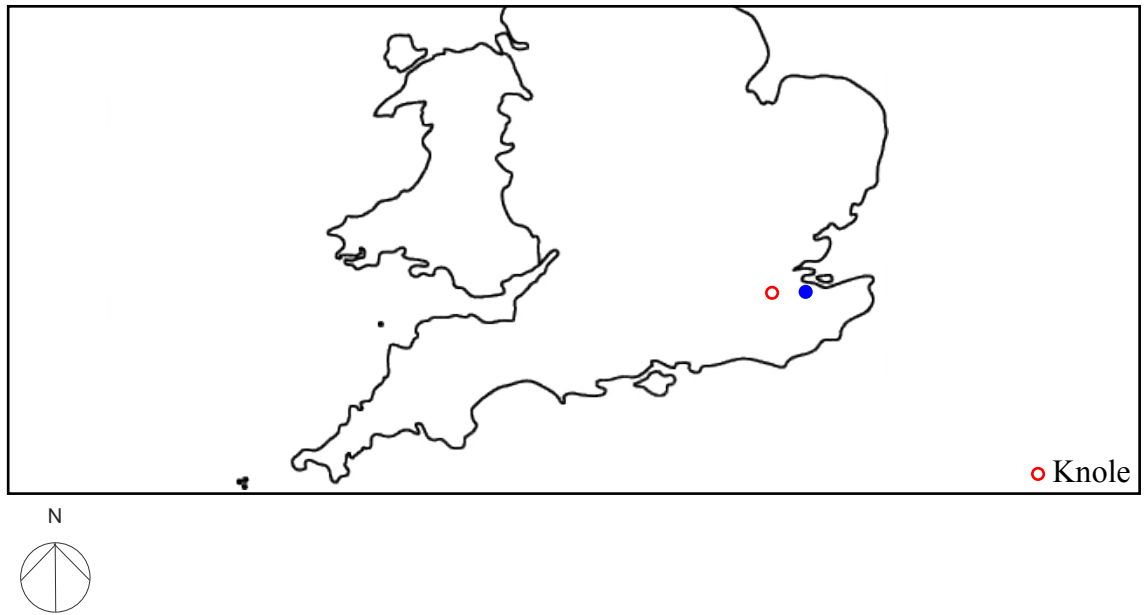


Figure 104: Maidstone Palace, Kent. Great Chamber fireplace with arms of Archbishop Warham in the spandrels. (*Author*)

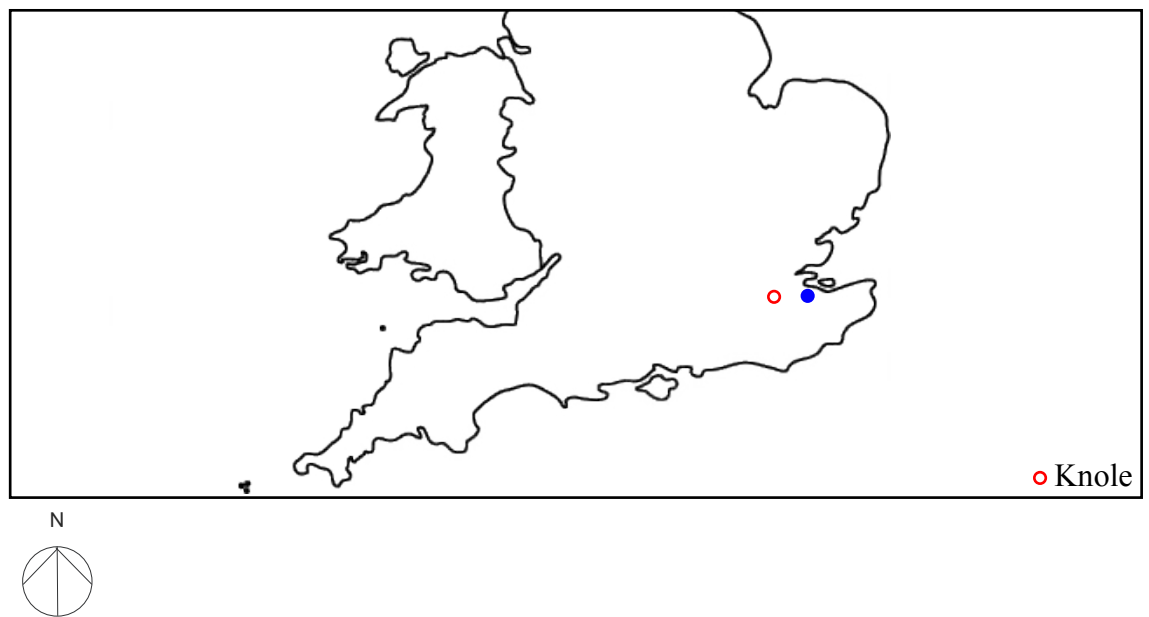


Figure 105: Maidstone Palace, Kent. Great Chamber fireplace with arms of Archbishop Warham in the spandrels (Detail). (*Author*)

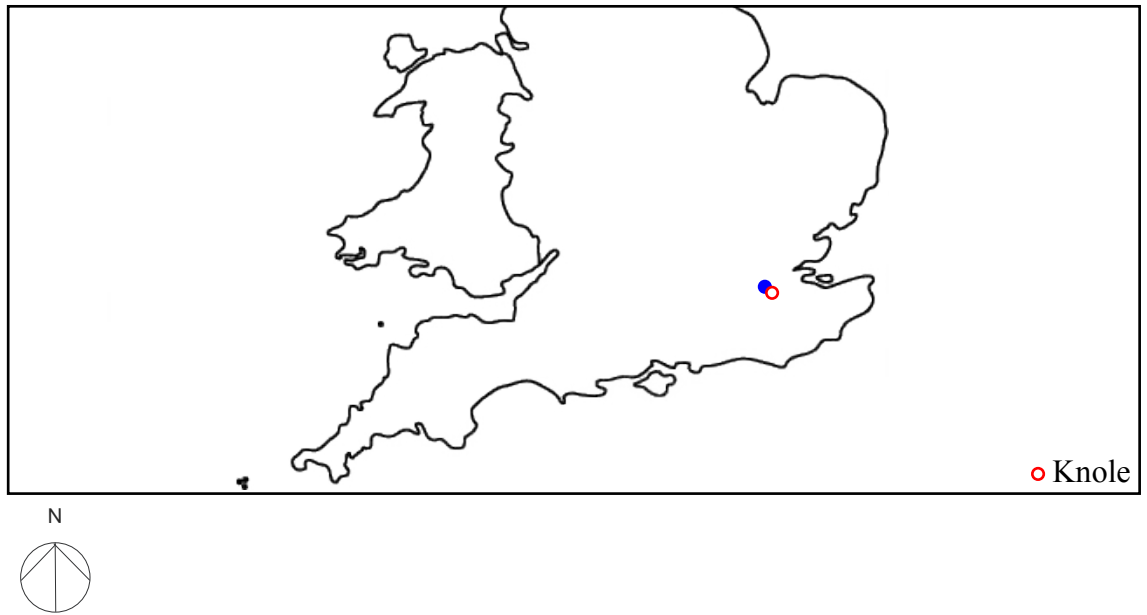


Figure 106: 63-65 High Street, Sevenoaks. Fireplace spandrels with arms of Archbishops Chichele (above) and Warham (below). (*Author*)

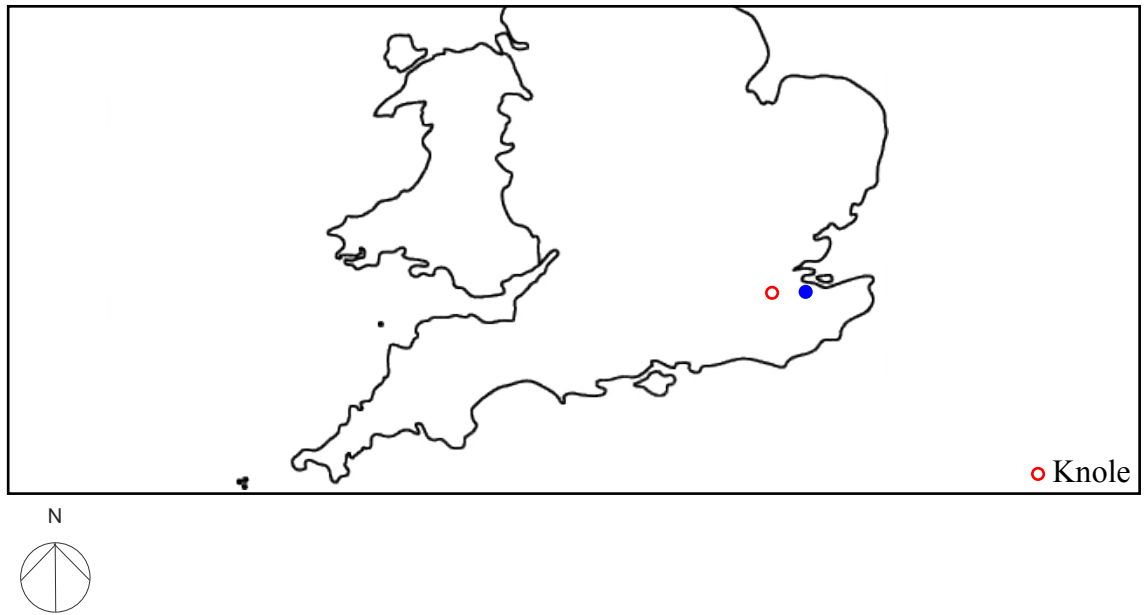
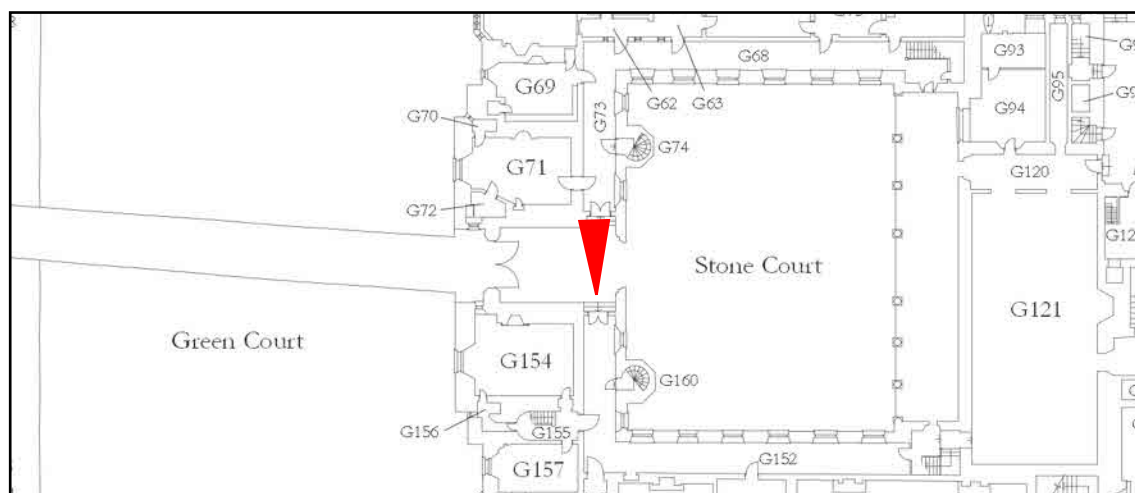


Figure 107: Maidstone Palace. Courtney Parlour with panelling attributed to Archbishop Bouchier. (*Author*)



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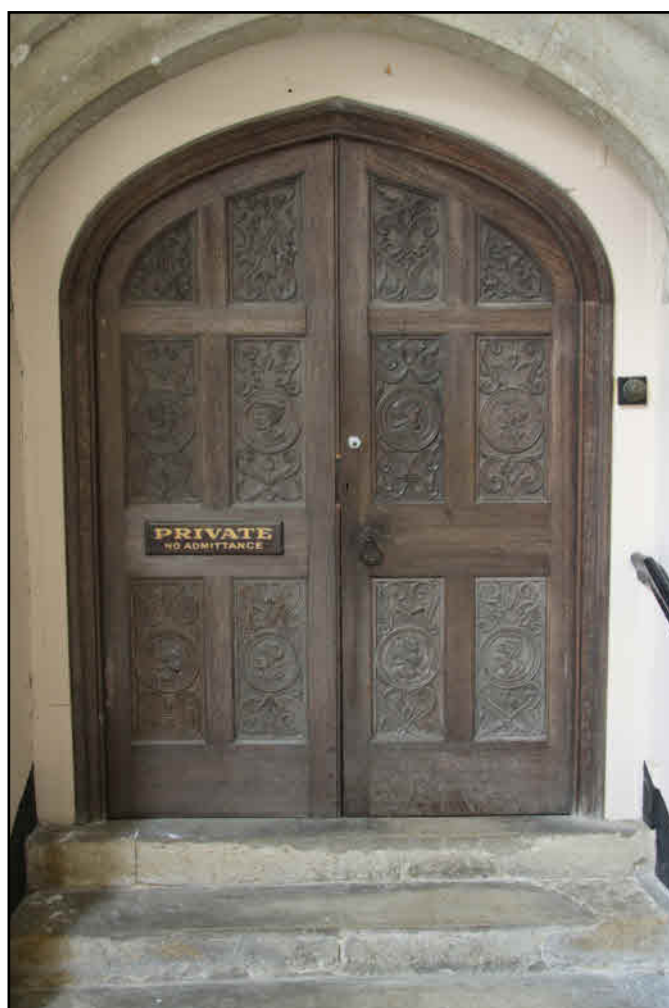


Figure 108: Nineteenth-century door under Bouchier's Tower, containing reset early sixteenth-century antique medallion heads. (*Author*)

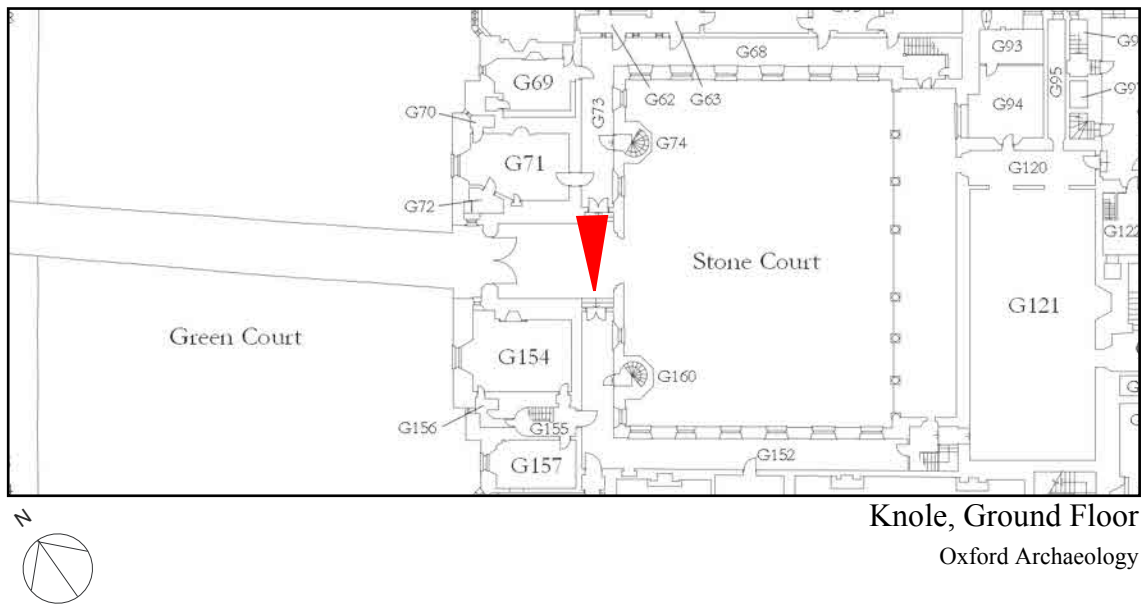
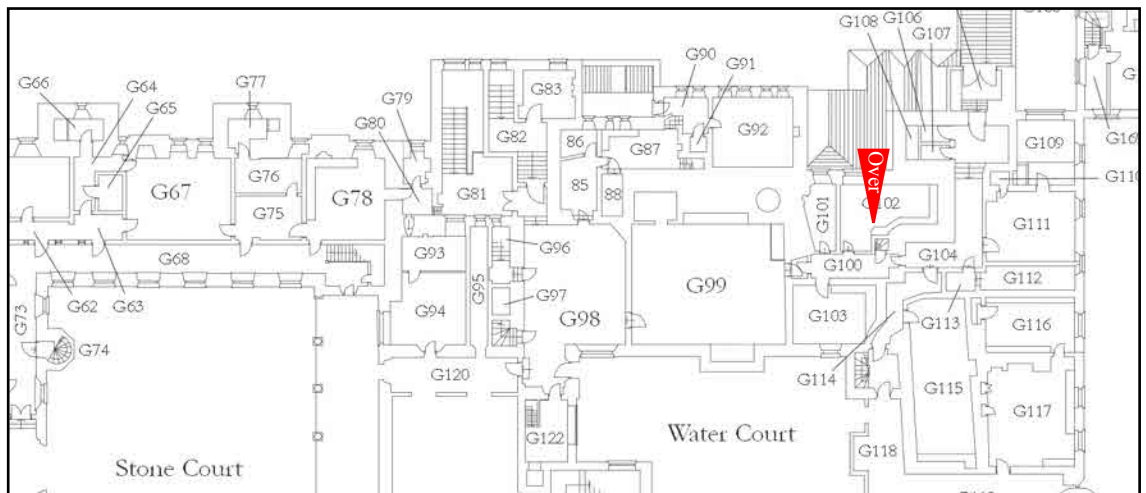


Figure 109: Sixteenth-century antique medallion head reset in nineteenth-century door below Bouchier's Tower. (*Author*)



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Figure 110: Door made from reused linen-fold panelling. Mezzanine Flat north range of Water Court. (*Author*)

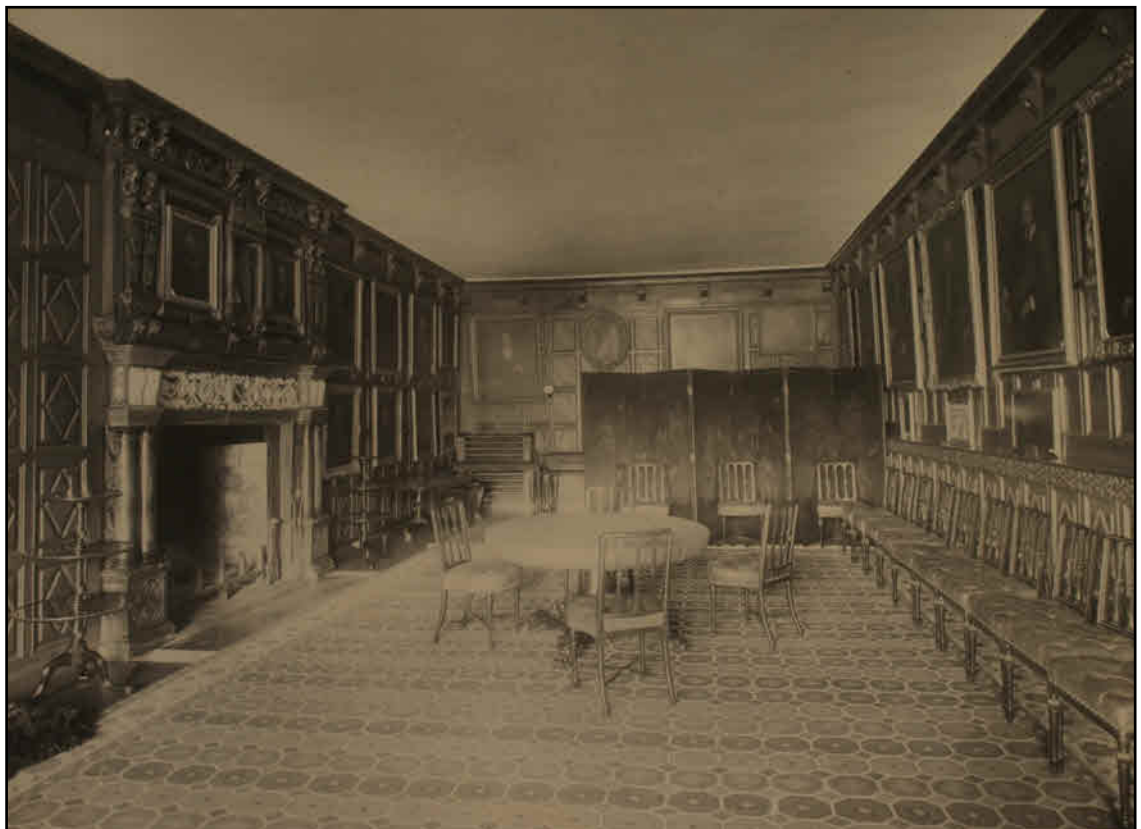
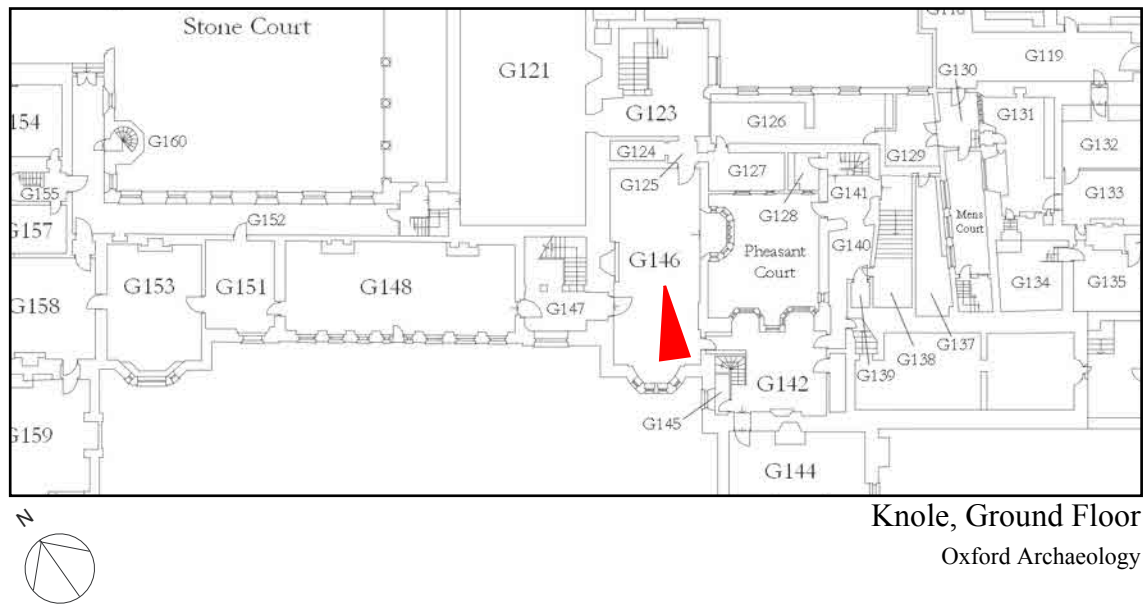


Figure 111: Poet's Parlour. Note that the panelling on the right conceals a bay window.
(*Pym Album*, c.1890)